University of Alberta

Internet Journalism as an Alternative Source in Turkey

by

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Abstract

Journalism has undergone significant changes as a result of new media technologies. This research attempts to examine the changes that the Internet has brought to the profession of journalism and whether these changes can be called revolutionary. The study seeks to explore the implications of Internet journalism first on a global scale and then in Turkey. The theoretical foundations and criticisms of the medium, communications and Internet journalism theories are outlined. This study conducts some analyses of changes and expectations in the profession using a qualitative methodological approach consisting of semi-structured interviews with four newspapers' editors in Istanbul as well as one important story covered in each of their newspapers. The study argues that Internet has not caused a revolutionary change in news making; however, there have been some new expectations from Internet journalism that were not the case with previous media.

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Buradaki dort seneye yaklasirken basiyorum tezimi… Birseyleri buraya Turkce yazmak ne guzel… Ne diyebilirim ki, "Benim de bir tezim var en sonunda…" Kalbi benimle birlikte carpan herkes sagolsun…

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Introduction

In the mid-1990s, the emergence of multimedia on the Internet initiated a major shift in the selection, presentation, and reception of information, mainly in industrialized societies. The change caused by the effects of digital technologies has allowed for a more globalized way of information gathering and editing, as well as individualized and interactive forms of information usage. The globalization of media industries and the development of new electronic communications technologies have had a significant impact on journalism worldwide. As a result of these two very crucial changes, many hope that in the future, journalism will provide fertile ground for democracy (Webster 1, 30).

News sources have been going online all over the world, and a growing number of people have begun to use them. Online journalism is now a sub-branch of journalism. The Internet can provide journalism with new and efficient ways of producing and disseminating the news and it can even affect the way it works, but it does not change the basic premises of the profession. Meanwhile, mainstream media have used their influence to expand their power into the new media. International news resources (e.g., Associated Press, Reuters) that have the power to produce news tend to be organized monopolies that manipulate and shape public opinion in every medium including the Internet. The political struggle, over the control of cyberspace is at an early stage, and the effects of the practices will be vital in determining how the balance evolves (Webster 1, 30). This situation was not predicted when the Internet first started to make people think about its features.

This research explores findings concerning how the Internet has changed or has not changed the practices of journalism using Turkey as a case study. It examines the medium, communication, and Internet journalism theories to set a foundation for the argument that the Internet's effect on journalism has not been revolutionary but might be better described as evolutionary. It builds on past and contemporary research in the area of mass media studies, specifically Internet journalism and related issues.

In early media theory, there was an emphasis on technology, whereas later on, including the present, technology does not seem to have the novelty that it once did, perhaps due to the fact that people are more used to the process of new media technologies. Recent social discourses have focused on the impact of media on society more than they have on technological aspects. Theoreticians have questioned the ideology behind the media more than the technologies that created them.

Medium and communication theory examines the understanding of established and new media technologies. Theoreticians have observed the media's technical, socio-political, economic, and cultural aspects. Some Marxists such as those involved in the Frankfurt School believed that culture had been significantly harnessed by mass media (Adorno and Horkheimer, 121). As a result of the perception of the media (television) as a global phenomenon, Marshall McLuhan later questioned early critical theory (McLuhan, 3). However, there is more to this new medium than technological changes. That is why, as much as television had been praised by communication determinists, it was also criticized. More contemporary media theorists discussed the socio-political consequences of mass media exploring issues such as the audiences' point of view.

Contemporary Marxists, such as Noam Chomsky, brought this relationship between the media, governments, capital, and the elite to light (Herman and Chomsky, 3).

This thesis supports the findings of some contemporary Marxists, specifically Robert McChesney who argues that the Internet has created a very democratic atmosphere for the media, especially for activist opinions. However, the Internet is not going to breakdown the dominance of capitalist media anytime soon because of the fact that advertising, ownership of Internet services, and media regulations are also dominant factors in determining how much power various voices can have on the Internet (McChesney, 21).

Mass media have reached a point where the theories attempting to explain them frequently clash as a result of the emergence of new media technologies. Debates about online journalism are still in their early stages and sometimes lack the clarity concerning the core issues. While some critics are evaluating online journalism using post-modern approaches, the question is whether they should be concerned with the same ethical values that traditional journalism share because as with any other new technology, the Internet will eventually be settling down. At this point, the definition of news and online journalism, the changes that the Internet has brought to journalism, the concerns that Internet journalism has brought into the professional arena would gain importance. Online journalism as an alternative news source, and finally the managing of this alternative source, an issue that relates to regulation and government intervention are also significant aspects of the theoretical framework of Internet journalism. Theories of online journalism, however, are fragmented, and online news theories have not been crystallized

into schools of thoughts. Hereby, theories of medium and communications as well as journalism are the subject matter of the first chapter.

The media not only exert power in politics but also influence society economically, militarily, and socially. Therefore, controlling a news medium is an effective and important way for governments, corporations, or individuals to extend their power. As online journalism has become a more significant component of how people receive information, this shift has been perceived in different ways in various countries. To narrow this study down, I focused on global discourses from a Turkish perspective. In the examination of the situation of a modernizing country attempting to grapple with the Internet in terms of its Internet journalism practices, Turkey is an important example. New media technologies have brought many challenging issues to the discourses of Turkish academics and media professionals and they provide another set of problems to the political agenda. In Turkey, where the media are considered as the fourth estate, Internet journalism has been expanding its influence.

The second chapter of the thesis provides a description of the methodology used in the thesis in regards to Turkey's Internet journalism practices. It outlines the details regarding the approach to analyzing the primary data collected in this study and describes the sampling techniques, interview, and data analysis methods. The first section of the chapter explains the methodology used to analyze the interviews that were done with the editors of four news outlets. The second section of the chapter outlines the methodological approach for a case study that examined a global event. The case study observes how this event was portrayed in three different ideologically oriented Turkish

newspapers (both their print and on-line editions), each representing views from either the left, the right or the mainstream, and one website offering alternative political views.

Government intervention on the Internet and censorship issues have been important in Turkey's Internet journalism practices given the country's history of state intervention. The Turkish government did not become seriously interested in this new technology until the content became critical towards government. It thought that it could control this new medium by applying the laws and regulations of traditional media to the Internet. Turkey has tried to enact strict regulations controlling the Internet. The government has established media and commercial conglomerates that perceive the Internet as a threat to their control over both public opinion and the economy. The government 'has reasons' to be concerned about the impact of the Internet on domestic security and culture. Some government officials think that the Internet can spread terrorism and anti-government activism. For policing purposes, however, the Internet is not the traditional medium the Turkish government assumes it to be. Some of these issues appear in Turkish debates about the Internet, but academic scholarship has paid little attention to them. Against the censorship efforts, academics and journalists are the most obvious groups advocating for Internet rights (Nebil, URL).

After outlining the methodology in Chapter two, the third chapter will provide a brief overview of the development of the Internet in Turkey, the attempts to control it, and reactions from various power groups in society. In order to give a perspective on the critiques of Internet regulations, interviews that were done in Istanbul will be analyzed from media professionals' (the editors that were interviewed) perspectives. The second section of this chapter, again based largely on the interviews, deals with these

professionals' expectations for Internet journalism in Turkey and use of the Internet in practice. All have a positive attitude towards this new technology even though they are not comfortable with the way that the Turkish government regulates Internet technologies.

The expectations, in terms of practical aspects of Internet journalism in Turkey, are similar to those worldwide, as it will be evident in the interviews. The Internet continues to be an alternative news source and helps to create a more democratic atmosphere for Turkish journalism than existed previously. Internet journalism, as an alternative democratic source, can be an important voice in a global world where people are scattered regardless of their country of origin and information is a need more than a luxury. Many news resources can be accessed globally on the web. The Internet has given Turkish-speaking people who live around the world access to different news perspectives, a trend which is considered a major improvement over citizens' receiving the news through traditional sources. Overall, this chapter argues that the Turkish government did not welcome the Internet as another press medium, however, the intelligentsia, including media professionals, theoreticians, and policy makers have been supportive of this new technology.

A case study (fourth chapter) examines a single global event to see whether Internet journalism has brought changes to the profession in Turkey and to observe how this event was portrayed in three different ideologically oriented Turkish newspapers (both their print and on-line editions) and one online news source. This chapter analyzes the sites of *Milliyet,* which is a mainstream newspaper, *Evrensel,* which provides a leftist perspective on the news, *Milli,* which gives religious critiques on the news coverage, and

Haberturk, which is an independent (in terms of its relation with the government and corporations) liberal online news organization. The study chose newspapers for examination because they are more accessible than TV or radio in terms of archives on the Internet. The news event chosen for the case study is the Turkish parliament's voting on the stationing of US forces on Turkish soil and authorizing the dispatch of Turkish troops in Iraq on the 27th of February 2003. This issue is suitable for the case study due to its importance in Turkey as well as its global importance but not as dramatic as the declaration of war, which might have prompted extraordinary news coverage.

Before the stories are analyzed from a content and style-focused point of view, the general features of each outlet will be examined in terms of their print (except for *Haberturk*) and online editions. Basically, they are source and content, layout, design and archival services, as well as advertisements of these news outlets. The section will also address the similarities and differences between the online and print versions of the news outlets. Screenshots of the news sites and newspapers' scanned images are in this section to make it easier to compare the print and online material. The content and style analysis of these four outlets will provide evidence for the argument that Internet journalism as an alternative information source offers a platform for diverse opinions, and it can create a more democratic news atmosphere. The study will observe that in using cyberspace as a medium, these sites use particularly technical features such as immediacy, interactivity, and hypertextuality. It will also indicate that these sites rely on technical features more than they do on their journalistic work.

Internet journalism practices in Turkey have not been radically different from those around the world. All news media try to have Internet editions in Turkey. Those

doing only Internet journalism have used the new technologies quite well. Perhaps this has been due to the fact that being recognized by Internet audiences requires new and original ideas, and this very situation has caused them to make better use of the Internet. In Turkey, it is difficult to talk only about an independent and self-sufficient online news source. In terms of content, since it has been difficult to employ reporters, some of the online sources have been dependent on agencies, as is the global practice. Given the country's dynamic social construction, however, a great acceleration may occur in the near future in terms of the creation of independent online news sources. Ultimately, Internet journalism should be committed to serving democracy rather than for its own interests.

Turkish online journalism has seen little significant debate in the Turkish media or in academia. There have been other studies on the impact of Internet journalism in Turkey (e.g., Lutfi Mehmet Arslan, "Elevating the Standards of Journalism through the Internet", M.A. Thesis) although they have not focused on the discourses of change in the profession from the above perspective. Therefore, it is this study's goal to reveal the discourses and relevant examples on the argument for developing mass media studies. First contribution of this study is that it outlines the theoretical framework of medium and communication theory and integrates it into Internet journalism theories with respect to the literature. The second contribution of this study is that it focuses on the discourses of revolution and evolution in terms of Internet journalism. As a third contribution, the study examines Turkish Internet journalism based on some primary data and comes to conclusions regarding where the Internet journalism stands in the country. In brief, the study aims to theorize Internet journalism with respect to Turkey after it examines the

world-wide theories and practices of Internet journalism and after it blends the field with global discourses.

-- Chapter 1 --

Literature Review

This thesis explores findings concerning how the Internet has changed or has not changed the practices of journalism using Turkey as a case study. It builds on past and contemporary research in the area of mass media studies, specifically Internet journalism and related issues. Since the research focus is the growing field of mass communications studies, there are many overlapping areas of interest including the Internet as new technology, online journalism, alternative media, and Internet regulation.

This literature review consists of two main sections: Medium and communication theory and Internet journalism theory. The first examines the understanding of traditional and new media technologies by theoreticians who have observed the media's technical, socio-political, economic, and cultural aspects. Marxist theorists, such as those in the Frankfurt School, held that culture had been significantly harnessed by the mass media. Later, Marshall McLuhan questioned this early critical theory stemming from his perception that media, specifically television, is a global phenomenon. More contemporary media critics discussed the socio-politic consequences of the mass media based on perspectives such as audience theory, while contemporary Marxists brought the relation between the media, governments, capital, and the elite to light. The section will also discuss the correlation between technology and objective news coverage. Finally, an examination of the political economy of the digital revolution will complete medium and communications theory section.

Mass media have reached a point where the theories attempting to explain them frequently clash as a result of the emergence of new media technologies. Therefore, to

respond to the research question "Has the Internet caused a revolutionary change in journalism?" the second section of the review is going to argue that the Internet has not caused a revolution rather that an evolution is occurring in mass media. There are three parts to this section. The first part defines news and online journalism, examines the changes that the Internet has brought to the journalism, and explores the concerns that Internet journalism have brought into the professional arena. The second part deals with online journalism as an alternative news source. The final part of this section examines the managing of this alternative source, an issue that inevitably relates to regulation and government intervention.

Medium and Communications Theory

Concerning the media, every claim about "progress" should be evaluated in terms of its socio-political, economic, and cultural aspects rather than by mere technological explanations or claims about revolutionary advances. Media refers to newspapers, radio, television, and computers (with their Internet component) that serve the purpose of providing information and knowledge as well as offering entertainment. Power, truth, and technology play significant roles in the discourses of various media theorists. Before the emergence of today's complex and sometimes confusing opinions on the media, theoreticians traditionally explained the issues from a content perspective by comparing the media's physical features with each other and in terms of the audiences' reactions.

Early critical media theory, which deals with hegemony, power, and difference, provides a good starting point. Power and the mass media go hand in hand in society. Many see the media as a source of power--either as an agency of change or as a tool of elite forces in society. Some media theories are derived from the idea that the hierarchical

domination of many privileged groups has some kind of relation with the media. For example, Gramsci noted, in his prison writings, that common sense creates hegemony. He mentioned that allowing the media to become very powerful in terms of their ideological control and leadership generates this common sense. Currently, hegemonic powers are trying to create a common sense and rule the cyber-world with the zeal that they have always had, and one of its most important elements is journalism. Gramsci might argue that media operate in the way he envisaged when he talked about a class struggle and the creation of values which others must follow. It is this situation in which the ideological role of the media can be seen to influence the way in which people can decode and read advertisements, news stories, television programs, and any text which may hold a hidden meaning (Gramsci, 207).

Theodor Horkheimer and Max Adorno used the term "culture industry"[1] to refer to the commodification of cultural forms which occurred with the emergence of the entertainment industries in the West (Adorno and Horkheimer, 121). They argue that the modern culture industry, under the influence of technological processes, produces standardized cultural commodities, which serve to oppress citizens. In their view, even the arts form a commodified system. They claim that real life is no different from the movies. Economic powers that make decisions in terms of who will have what control everything. Adorno and Horkheimer suggest that through advertising and other such practices, this system has kept its goal of commodifying culture and making the highest possible profits. Since cultural goods are manufactured in accordance with the aims of capitalist profit, they are designed for consumption by the masses, which decreases the

[1] This term is used because millions participate in cultural productions and certain reproduction processes inevitably require identical needs in innumerable places to be satisfied with identical goods."

capacity of the audience to behave in a critical and autonomous way. The media may be seen as the guards and the citizens as the prisoners, who watch only what is being presented to them (Adorno and Horkheimer, 120-167).

Based on this pessimistic view of the media, there is little room for argument that the Frankfurt School would evaluate the new media technologies, including the Internet, as a tool of the capitalist powers to dominate the masses. Steven Green provides a critical analysis of the Frankfurt School's view of the Culture Industry as a form of mass deception. First, he argues that mass media might not be able to exercise an overall and constant pressure on mass society since they have to operate in a complex matrix of various situations. Second, the results in these situations cannot be pre-determined, and they might create the possibility of resistance or at least they might result in a different outcome such as alternative media sources (Green, URL). Moreover, when Adorno and Horkheimer talk about the standardization of culture, they are in a way standardizing everything without exception. The Frankfurt School's focus on ideology helped to undermine capitalism, but other Marxists criticized it for its elitism and idealism. They argue that Frankfurt School looked away from a traditional focus on historical materialism. Daniel Chandler, suggests that orthodox Marxists saw the Frankfurt School's critical theory as revisionist partly because it criticized capitalism and strict materialism. It provided no real way to progress in the study of the mass media (Chandler, Marx, URL). In brief, the Frankfurt School condemns existing reality without proposing how it might be changed for the better. They primarily examined the conservative aspects of mass society and in doing so gave this perspective a leftist viewpoint (Watson and Hill 89).

Whereas Adorno and Horkheimer look at media for a critique of the dominant rationality, Habermas discovers an emancipatory and utopian logic within bourgeois society and therefore Habermas's view on media is more grounded in practices of media realities. Habermas distinguishes two kinds of media: on the one hand, steering media, through which subsystems are differentiated out of the lifeworld, and on the other hand, generalized forms of communication, which remain tied to "lifeworld" contexts: "Steering media uncouple the coordination of action from building consensus in language altogether and neutralize it in regard to the alternative of coming to an agreement or failing to do so" (Habermas, 90). Habermas argues that in the case of generalized forms of communication, people are dealing with specialization of linguistic processes of consensus formation that remains dependent on the resources of the lifeworld background. He believes that mass media process permits public spheres to emerge through establishing the abstract simultaneity of a virtually present network of communication content far removed in space and time:

> The one aspect cannot be separated from the other—and therein lies their ambivalent potential. Insofar as mass media one-sidedly channel communication flows in a centralized network—from the center to the periphery or from above to below—they considerably strengthen the efficacy of social controls (Habermas, 90).

But, according to Habermas, tapping this authoritarian potential is always dangerous because there is a counterweight of emancipatory potential built into the communication structures themselves. In brief, his main arguments that make him different from other Frankfurt School theoreticians can be briefly summarized as following points: first, he suggests that the broadcasting networks are exposed to competing interests, and thus they are not able to smoothly integrate economic, political, ideological, professional, and

aesthetic viewpoints; second, the mass media cannot, without generating conflict, avoid the obligations that would release them from their journalistic mission and the professional codes of journalism; and third, media do not only, or even for the most part, reflect the standards of mass culture. Even when they take on the trivial forms of popular entertainment, they may contain critical messages (Habermas, 90-91).

McLuhan, as a modernist, thought that Marxist critiques were misguided because they did not take into account the dynamics of new media communications. McLuhan became known for his analysis of the effects of mass media on society with the publication of his book *Understanding Media*. In it, he did not talk much about computers, though some of his opinions on mass media are pertinent to the new media technologies used today. McLuhan defines media as "the extensions of man and the extensions of the nervous system" (McLuhan, 3). He did not concern himself with the content of a medium. He sees every medium as a message of its own, beyond its content. According to him, every new medium takes its content from previous technologies. Paul Levinson in his book *Digital McLuhan* praises McLuhan, noting that previous inventions such as movable type, radio, and TV now are all on the medium of the Internet and this very fact confirms that the medium is the message (Levinson, 42). McLuhan also argues that it is the nature of the dominant medium to manipulate the features of a society (McLuhan, 7). He suggested that the "electric" age makes political participation less dependent upon physical space and more truly global than ever before (Webster, 67). McLuhan perceived the globalization process as another effect of the media (Press, 15). His famous phrase "global village" suggests that people can meet through the media, use them for the same purposes and they usually are surprised by the knowledge that they

gain through them (Biagi, 268). However, Suzanne Douglas claims that in today's world, there are no longer any surprises in the global village because information is not interesting anymore (Douglas, 24). This assertion seems appropriate given today's unceasing information flow through media, specifically the Internet. Since the information is constantly coming and is expected to change immensely, unless there is a catastrophic event, people are not impressed by how much they learn as opposed to early days of media technologies in which every bit of information was valuable and worth looking at.

McLuhan has been criticized by social scientists. Mike Augarten, for example, points out that McLuhan's philosophy is complicated, and his ideas are subjective and often contradictory (Augarten, 87). Overall, the insufficient evolution of socio-political issues concerning new technologies is seen as the weakest element of McLuhan's media theory. Considering his time period, however, it is understandable that he did not focus on these issues because TV's existence was a recent and significant invention in people's lives. On the other hand, such an optimistic view towards this new medium seems unwarranted. Extrapolating from his theories, there is little room for doubt that he would have praised computers and he would have claimed that with its Internet component, it is a revolutionary medium.

In terms of understanding of media as shape-givers to societies' values, which is considered a point missed in McLuhan's evaluation of media, Neil Postman offers critiques of various mediums. Postman suggests that while the medium is certainly important to the meaning within the message as McLuhan said, he suggests that there is no proven correlation between a medium whose form promotes only images and a society

that prioritizes entertainment above serious discourse, politics, and education (Postman, 1985, 9). He argues that we find "truth" in television and other dominant forms of expression in the same way that the ancient Athenians found "truth" in the virtues of public speaking (Postman, 22). He goes onto argue that anyone who relies exclusively on television for his or her knowledge of the world is making a serious mistake as opposed to Fiske who says that reality as a human construction on TV can be analyzed and understood (Fiske, 1978, 194). Postman thinks that people should not trust television for serious matters. He insists that television provides enough simulation to alter the truth of our reality (Postman 129-137). As a result, Postman thinks that the United States is suffering from an information overflow, as Douglas asserted earlier, and most Americans are no longer clear about what news is worth remembering or how any of it connects to real life. Thus, "Americans are rapidly becoming the least knowledgeable people in the industrial world" (Postman, 100).

When it comes to the Internet, not surprisingly, Postman is as critical of it as he is of television. He argues that even though cyberspace contributes to the decentralization of information, like any innovation, it creates new problems, for example, the absence of gatekeepers who are useful in separating the irrelevant from the relevant and even the true from the false. Although there are many positive aspects concerning new and emerging technologies, he concentrates his attention on the possible negative consequences, mostly because he thinks that everyone else seems to speak about the advantages technology will bring (Postman, 2000, URL). However, his negative attitude sometimes reaches the point that it seems that he sees nothing of value in media

technologies and the Internet. Ultimately, his criticism is very much like that of the Frankfurt School.

Whereas McLuhan focused mostly on sensory aspects of medium, Harold Innis directed his concern on culture and institutions. Innis's work is insightful in its attempt to understand how communication technology creates information media that have contradictory features. He observed how all mediums of communication are biased in terms of their attempts to control time and space. He stated that space-binding media encourage the growth of the state, the military, and decentralized institutions. Time-binding media, on the other hand, are related to history and tradition, and favor the growth of religion and hierarchical organizations in society. Societies dominated by only one kind of bias (time or space) are inherently unstable with respect to the changes introduced by new media. Societies with a balance between time and space technologies are more likely to experience stability and provide a healthy environment for creative and cultural innovations. Innis believed that the power of nation states in the modern world has been dependent on spatial power and knowledge of writing. This form of communication is vital to societal issues of stability and change (Innis, 62-91). According to Glenn Willmott, Innis finds great subjectivity in the interpretation of the history of the media and evaluates subjectivity as the most significant constraint to human knowledge. He emphasizes that economic history can be seen as a series of cycles explaining the rise and fall of political empires, which are monopolies of knowledge founded on the limitations of their dominant media (Willmott, 110).

Innis's soft technological determinism concerning mass media was influential, and his work is insightful in its attempt to understand how communication technology

creates information media that have contradictory features (De Fleur and Rokeach and 108). Innis contended that the nature of media technology, at certain points, influences how the citizens of a society live. He argued that the print media, including books, were the primary reason for the cause-effect way of thinking in societies in which print media are the dominant component, because the technology of print leads to linear form of presentation. According to his work, the Internet, as a new technology, should have enormous effects in shaping our daily lives (Rokeach and De Fleur and, 184).

Stuart Hall, a more contemporary theorist, argues specifically about the socio-politic consequences of the mass media. Most of Hall's early arguments are based on his readings of Gramsci. He thinks that the mass media tend to reproduce interpretations, which serve the interests of the ruling class, but that they are also "a field of ideological struggle" (Hall, 56). Daniel Chandler states that Hall sees the news as performing a crucial role in defining events since the media serve to reinforce a consensual viewpoint by using public idioms and by claiming to voice public opinion (Chandler, Hall, URL).

Hall, in an interview with Martin Jacques, offers his opinions on the Internet as a new technology. He sees the Internet more as a source of information rather than as a source of new ideas. In terms of the Internet's providing a democratic atmosphere, Hall states,

> At the moment it is a kind of illusion that the Internet is going to allow us to escape from the determinance of politics and power and economic life and the gendering of social relations and race and ethnicity. These things already shape who does and who doesn't have access to what, and they're going to give rise to forms of structuring and regulation which will, to some extent, constrain what can and can't be said on the Internet (Jacques, URL).

Hall argues that the Internet cannot be policed and regulated in the old way. In terms of media evolution, he discusses radio as an example pointing out that TV has not replaced

it. The dominance of radio is over, but it has come back as a subordinate technology, and is now a very powerful medium. According to Hall, the claim that each new technology transforms the basis of known technologies is not true because each time something new is arriving, old ones are returning, as McLuhan suggested. Technologies do not completely take over other technologies and the forms of consciousness, which are associated with them. They re-organize and reconfigure the entire field and the language that "hypes" the Internet is pointing to explain something-authentic (Jacques, URL).

John Fiske, a student of Stuart Hall and a professor of communications arts, discusses issues concerning audience theory. Fiske states that a media event brings to the surface the values, assumptions, and meanings that are most central to the belief structure of a particular culture, but it may also have the effect of silencing other values, alternative perspectives, and competing bids for meaning. Media analysis can thus be a tool that can help people understand how culture is responding to a catastrophe as well as a tool that can help people recover important ideas and values that need to be heard (Fiske, 1994, 1). Fiske describes media events as including not only simply the event itself but also all of the meanings that circulate around the event as it is being reported to us via the media. Fiske argues that during a media event, meanings are proposed and quickly filtered, and certain ones then emerge as the preferred choices for the society as a whole, whereas other groups struggle to get their meanings heard over the noise (Fiske, 1994, 18).

Contemporary Marxists also see mass media as a tool for creating a false consciousness so that dominant groups can hide the reality of oppression and exploitation. Noam Chomsky, a linguist, political activist, and public intellectual who is well-known for his criticism of the mass media, talks about the media as just one of "a

variety of measures to deprive democratic political structures of substantive content, while leaving them formally intact" (Herman and Chomsky, 3). Chomsky and Edward Herman, who try to explain the media through the propaganda model and who argue that a topic is presented in news stories after it has gone through a number of filters, point out that U.S mainstream media usually do not cover stories related to torture of political prisoners or attacks against labour unions. Chomsky brings the relation between the media, governments, capital, and the elite to light. He says that propaganda is to a democracy what violence is to a dictatorship (Herman and Chomsky, 3-28).

Chomsky takes the view that the mainstream media are powerful entities that carefully control the information made available to the public, based on choices that serve the media corporations' economic self-interests. The mainstream media are happy to present their content on the web for free because they can generate additional advertising revenue. He brings the debate about the power of the American media to an audience that is willing to hear his message. He points out that alternative news organizations often stress equality, and that their dominant values are diversity, spontaneity, and active engagement. Chomsky emphasizes their role in empowering people by bringing attention to stories that are excluded from mainstream news (Chomsky, URL). Chomsky is criticized for categorizing all media as if they were the same. However, he is a very important and powerful public voice critiquing the effects of corporate media ownership. Specifically concerning the Internet, Chomsky mentions that like most technology, it is a double-edged sword. Internet has a liberatory and repressive potential, and there is a battle going on about which way it is going to go, what is going to be in it, and who is

going to have access to it as there was for radio, and television. Nevertheless, it does have a democratizing potential with its alternative media possibilities (Marr, URL).

Some theorists argue that technologies can be used against capitalism, which created them in the first place, including big multi-media conglomerates. David Harvey, for example, says that cultural producers have learned to explore and use new technologies, media, and, ultimately multimedia possibilities. However, he thinks that the effect has been to re-emphasize the fleeting qualities of modern life and even to celebrate them:

> The closing of the gap between popular culture and cultural production in the contemporary period, while strongly dependent on new technologies of communication, leads many to accuse postmodernism of a simple and direct surrender to commodification, commercialization, and the market (Harvey, 59).

Robert McChesney, in his article "The Political Economy of Communication" addresses the digital revolution's evolution in terms of the political economy of this process. He thinks that the Internet has created a very democratic atmosphere, especially for activist opinions, however, the Internet is not going to break down the dominance of capitalist media anytime soon. Advertising, ownership of the media, and even the ownership of Internet services are all dominant factors in determining how much power various voices can have on the Internet (McChesney, 21). He explains how communication is directly tied to the globalization process in two ways. First, capitalist economies are using quickly developing technologies since the new trendy idea is that information has replaced production. Second, as the most important forms of advertising, the global media are the advancing armies of global capitalism (McChesney, 2). Similarly, in *Capitalism and the Information Age*, Edward Herman also argues that there

is no evidence for the Internet and the news communication technologies as supporters of interactive democratic media. He says that these developments permit media firms to shrink staff and impose other restrictions such as reducing the number of media entities: "Although the new technologies have great potential for democratic communication, left to the market, there is little reason to expect the Internet to serve democracy" (Herman, 201).

The question is whether these new technologies are helping people in terms of receiving more independent and objective news. As an activist, Edward Said explains in his book *Orientalism* how American popular media have perpetuated a narrow and unfavorable image of Islamic people and how this has prevented a real understanding of Middle Easterners while providing a common enemy for the American people (Said, 1-27). Said occasionally writes opinion pieces for leading American newspapers, although he finds overseas publications and radio much more receptive to his critical view of events in the Middle East. He avoids the mentality of the American mainstream media in favor of longer pieces produced by the alternative press at home and abroad (Trimel, URL).

In fact, the book *Orientalism* has never been more relevant than at this particular moment in history. As nations begin to collect themselves after the recent attack on Iraq, they have already begun to focus their attention on the Muslim people of the Middle East and Central Asia. When looking at the war in Iraq, despite the fact that there has been coverage using the latest technological resources, it seems that getting the truth has been really difficult in terms of access to more objective news unless people turn to alternative sources that give them different perspectives. The solution has been using new media

technologies such as the Internet to access different sources' news. At this point, the issue of power becomes important again. Influential agencies including the media create the defining concepts and try to put everything into these categories. And if they are powerful enough, they can define the truth in such a way that it reflects their view rather than that of others.

In this brief review of medium and communications theories, it has been seen that society can perceive the media as the fourth estate, given the fact that they create a great tension among the stakeholders of society. The ideology behind the media has been questioned more than the technologies that created them, and perhaps this is how it should be. In early media theory, there was an emphasis on technology, whereas later on, technology does not seem to have the novelty that it once did, perhaps due to the fact that people are used to the process of new media technologies. Therefore, social discourses have focused on the impact of media on society more than they have on technological aspects. This thesis fits into findings of contemporary Marxists, specifically McChesney's argument that the Internet has created a very democratic atmosphere, especially for activist opinions. However, the Internet is not going to break down the dominance of capitalist media anytime soon. And the fact is that advertising, ownership of Internet services, regulation are all dominant factors in determining how much power various voices can have on the Internet (McChesney, 21).

Internet Journalism

News sources have been going online all over the world, and a growing number of people have begun to use them. Meanwhile, caution flags are flying. Online publishing raises many challenging concerns, including issues in the areas of ethics, regulation, and

finance to name a few. Debates about online journalism are still in their early stages and sometimes result in a lack of clarity concerning the core issues. Theories of online journalism are fragmented, and therefore it is difficult to reach a solid consensus. Historically speaking, news media have never come to terms with their audiences on the question of content (Webster, 79). Although some critics are evaluating online journalism using post-modern approaches, online news should be concerned with the same ethical values that characterize traditional journalism. The accuracy of the news should not be sacrificed based on the blurry ideas in the debates.

There are three parts to this section. The first part is going to discuss the definition of news and online journalism, the changes that the Internet has brought to journalism, and the concerns that Internet journalism have brought into the professional arena. The second part deals with online journalism as an alternative news source, which gives a chance to every news source to be known by a global audience as a core issue. The final part of this section examines the managing of this alternative source, which is an issue that inevitably relates to regulation and censorship. Before starting the first part, the nature of the news, as a general concept will be examined briefly in order to understand some of the core issues more clearly in online journalism.

Definitions of 'news' vary: "Everything that happens is news" (Yasar, 40); "News is literature written quickly" (Yasar, 40); and " News is the summary of an event, problem or an idea which is currently happening" (Yasar, 40). Marilyn Matelski says that all information, which is real and interesting, is news for people (Matelski, 105). The questions of who, what, where, when, why and how ensure the wholeness of a news story (Girgin, 30). As a result of these questions, some basic characteristics of the news are

now being identified with frequency, threshold, clarity, cultural proximity, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, actions of elite, personification, and negativity. Jerry Palmer explains that by frequency, the event must be complete within the publication cycle of news organization. The event must pass a certain size threshold to qualify for sufficient importance to be newsworthy. What has actually happened must be relatively clear, and this is called clarity. News must be meaningful to the audience of the news organization in question, and this means cultural proximity. Consonance refers to the point that the event must be in accordance with the framework of understanding, which symbolizes the culture of the potential audience. Unexpectedness means that news stories should be rare. Continuity refers to the point that if an event has already been in the news, there is a good chance it will stay there. By composition it is emphasized that coverage of events is partially dictated by the internal structure of newsgathering organizations. Events involving elite people or organizations are more likely to be covered than those of people perceived as unimportant, and this is known as actions of elite feature. Personification means that events can be seen in terms of individual people rather than abstractions and lastly, by negativity, it is thought that bad events are more newsworthy than good ones (Palmer, 26). Overall, one feature might gain importance over another depending on the medium in which news is presented. While this is how the traditional news is identified briefly, with the emergence of new technologies, specifically the Internet, there is a significant discussion going on in terms of the definition of online journalism.

With or without the Internet, the main issue for news organizations should be the ability to establish a reliable name and employ ethical standards. Journalist Andrew

Stroehlein stresses that trying to come up with a definition of good online journalism--or even journalism itself--that would satisfy every person from every culture is difficult, but journalists agree that three key elements in any definition are accuracy, independence, and credibility (Stroehlein, URL).

The question is whether the Internet redefines the concept of news or not. For some, just because something does not make an interesting story does not mean that it is not interesting information. As a result, more and more events are turning into news stories (South, 2002, 10). However, for people's everyday immediate news needs, the concept of the news has not changed. People do not read the news to learn about everything that has occurred; they go to news stories to satisfy their need to learn about the developments in whatever interests them. It is accepted that the integration of TV with the Internet is playing a part in how online news is defined (South, 2001, 50). Online journalism editor Steve Outing stresses that newspapers will have to adjust their online strategies in order to offer more content. They will need to include more video, audio, and multimedia content on their websites. If they do not, their web operations may not be competitive (Outing, 54). As a counter argument, if people only want to read a headline or the main summary of an event, they might not wish to be distracted by multimedia content just because the Internet is capable of offering these features. Through the interactivity feature of the Internet, it is possible to submit opinion on stories, and as a result of the ability to comment on news stories with different perspectives, the accuracy of the stories is more important than ever in the case of Internet journalism (Scevak, URL).

Mark Deuze defines four types of online journalism in a way that presents a solid foundation. His first category is the mainstream news site that offers "a selection of editorial content and a minimal, generally filtered or moderated, form of participatory communication" (Deuze, URL). Online newspapers and networks such as CNN, MSNBC, the BBC and other news outlets are part of the mainstream. Online corporations such as Yahoo represent the second category. They digest news from existing services for their subscribers and offer easy links to the various news sources. Their ability to deliver information from a variety of sources is important. In the second category, Deuze also includes weblogs such as personal web sites on which individuals present diaries of their activities with comments about what they have seen, heard, read, experienced, or thought. The third category is meta news that is made up of news sites about news including media watchdogs and media discussion groups maintained by alternative voices. Deuze's fourth category consists of opinion and discussion sites. These provide places for exchanging ideas, "often centered around a specific community, or a particular theme such as world-wide anti-globalization activism or computer news" (Deuze, URL). Although Deuze's categorization is quite logical, the question still remains: How do people experience Web news? In an interview, a journalist gave this answer:

> They do not read it, they click it. When they are reading the newspaper, they are interested in knowing how Osama Bin Laden's foreign policy is affecting America. But when they are online, what they want to know is how he is going to kill me—that sense of personalization (Gilbert, URL).

This example may be quite true when looking at the daily newspaper reading habits of people on the Internet. Indeed, the reasons may vary in terms of why people go or do not go to online news. Considering the September 11th coverage by online news sources, they

were not the best choices from which to receive updates in the first moments. Since millions have greater access to radio and TV than the Internet, when there is a dramatic event such as September 11th, radio and television usage increases dramatically (Palser, 2002, 62). It does not have anything to do with whether the Internet is there or not, but rather it is connected with the nature of the media with which people are familiar. On television, the audience was simply watching the planes crashing into the towers; on the Internet, however, they had to click and read, in brief, to be more interactive and involved, which might have been more difficult given the numbing effect of the event. The former made them feel as though they were there, which had an enormous effect on everyone. The latter, on the other hand, was less exciting and required more work to learn about what was going on. Still, the variety of sources on the Internet was an advantage in terms of September 11th coverage. Global audience used it as a reference source for many discourses that took place in public or media. This specific event's advantages and disadvantages of online news coverage make it necessary to examine the changes and concerns related to online journalism. In fact, some of these changes and concerns will support the argument of this thesis that online journalism has not caused a revolution in the field of journalism.

News, once delivered at a moderate pace on a firmly established schedule, can now be circulated around the world on the Internet regardless of traditional news cycles and deadlines. Philip Seib writes about the profound changes in the relationship between news media and foreign policy makers due to the emergence of faster communications technology. Context is sacrificed in favor of a stream of headlines, continually updated but always shallow. He underlines that the Internet presents challenges to news

organizations and policymakers. No one can monopolize information. No one can hope that only one side of a story will reach the public. Public reliance on journalists' verifying and screening information before delivering it as news has changed because so much information is directly accessible on the Internet. The media are unmediated, and the public will decide for itself which sites to visit and which sources to believe (Seib, 60).

Robert Burnett and David Marshall argue that the Web has led to a shift in how we re-contextualize news around a much larger search for information. They argue that a general shift has occurred in the quality of news. On one level, the quality of informational news is questionable in terms of validity and legitimacy. Although news organizations have tried to reassert clear hierarchies in terms of what constitutes a legitimate news source, users are not totally defined and limited to their output. On a second level, the quality of news has shifted in terms of modality. News is becoming detached from particular media, and the web has been instrumental in this virtual migration of news content. The Web's development of informational news is producing a dramatic transformation in the way that we conceptualize what actually constitutes news and information in contemporary culture (Burnett and Marshall, 172).

Richard Davis argues that news organizations are not allowing the Web to displace them as news providers. He describes the change as adoption and says that the Internet will not lead to the death of mainstream media. The fact that news organizations are adapting is no different from what has occurred with each new technology. Media organizations are moving toward using the Net to convey news that provides their regular news services via the Internet. Newspapers and TV will still play an important role in

politics, with the difference being that their content will also be on the Internet (Davis, 60).

Christopher Harper's metaphoric comparison of the Internet to the movie *Field of Dreams* is interesting. He says that new technologies have a lot to offer, but many are not using the medium effectively. He mentions that as in the movie, if news sites are built well, people will visit them. And he says that if people do not come, neither will advertisers, and digital journalism will die (Harper, 189). However, as a counter argument, people will come to the Internet site of a news network or newspaper without hesitation as long as they have access to the Internet since they are used to viewing its programs or reading its established print version.

The Internet will not kill the traditional media and for that matter journalism; however, it will reshape them. In the book *The Electronic Grapevine*, John Newhagen and Mark Levy's message is that the differences between Internet news collection techniques and those of traditional journalism are profound enough to call for the redefining of news literacy as a key analytical skill (Newhagen, 20). Kevin Kawamoto notes that many of the same questions once asked about the traditional media are now being asked about new media. The technologies may be different, but many of the concerns have carried over. He says that the rise of new media is not so much a revolution as an evolution in the mass communications process. He defines the revolution and evolution with respect to the media:

> Revolution suggests an end and a beginning; evolution assumes a progression, a continuation. To focus singularly on the revolutionary aspects of new media may suggest a sudden discontinuity in the evolution of mass communication. In reality, both continuities and discontinuities are apparent.

Kawamoto suggests that as mass communications studies advance, the emergence of a new media environment should be a part of its evolution, maintaining key similarities while developing important differences as it adapts to its surroundings (Kawamoto, 179).

Jim Hall also discusses new media technologies' effects on news in terms of revolutionary claims of the Internet in his book *Online Journalism*. Hall says that the Internet adds momentum to trends that first appeared with the massification of media to expand further the constituency of journalism, which becomes more than newsgathering, analysis, and reportage. Such information extends beyond news; it includes ideas, stories and dialogues (Jim Hall, 4). Hall believes that distance and geography are also largely redundant conceptions. The Internet takes everything everywhere, including the sense of place, for diasporic populations. He thinks that although the Internet has changed both local and global journalism for the better it is still not at a level that would be considered revolutionary (Jim Hall, 213).

In terms of the audiences' perception of online journalism, David Tewksbury and Scott Althaus argue that the fact that news sources based on the World Wide Web use visuals, graphics, and inter-connectivity features may encourage people to process online stories differently from the way they process traditional newspaper articles. Additionally, the lessening of editorial control over stories suggests that online news consumers will expose people to a broader range of topics. Given current audience demands for crime, health and sports news, audiences of online services may acquire less information about public affairs and events than might audiences for traditional news outlets (Tewksbury and Althaus, 472). Althaus also notes that online newsreaders will be exposed to fewer international, national, and political news stories and will recognize and recall fewer such

topics. Therefore, one can argue that Internet journalism, in terms of how its audience approaches it, has not received much attention or experienced revolutionary change.

In terms of the concerns that online publication have raised, the discourses are quite interesting to follow. James Alexander mentions that it challenges traditional news standards and that the new medium presents new ethical dilemmas (Alexander, 4). He emphasizes that new media technology and delivery systems make it necessary for individual journalists to develop more sophisticated ethical decision-making skills (Alexander, 5). However, ethical values are essential in any kind of media. As explained above, the definition of news has not changed drastically and so ethical values should not either. In terms of providing news for Internet journalism, the practice is picking the most interesting news from other media sources and presenting them as if they are covered in the way that a news story would be covered in traditional media.

The speed of publication on the Internet has also raised the concern that information might be delivered before it has been properly checked. Reuven Frank explains that frustration results from small staffs, lack of time, and restricted budgets (Frank, 38). The worries are the rush to post and the standards used. Therefore, the suggested idea of professionals is that journalists have to continue with the philosophy of "get it first, but first get it right" (Arant and Anderson, URL).

Internet news providers are having a difficult time obtaining the same access to sources as their rivals in traditional media. As the role of the Internet and online news continues to evolve, web-publications might continue to have trouble in terms of "getting respect" and access to press conferences. Julie Panna suggests that, as the number of Internet reporters grows, organizers of news events will increasingly be met with the

challenge of deciding which online publications to accredit. For now, however, Internet news organizations do provide information to a significant proportion of the population, therefore online journalists have been granted press credentials to some events (Panna, 12). In the States, journalists are not licensed, and freelance journalists are free to practice their craft whether their work will be printed in magazines, online or not at all. In some cases, however, freelance journalists who are not employed by news outlets have been denied rights to protect confidential sources. One reason for difficulty in terms of accessing news events is that the conventional business world still might not want to deal with small advertising resources. The world might be scared of small and different voices' interpretation of developments as well (Winner,URL).

In terms of catastrophic results caused by the Internet, Wendy Williams claims that in the next thirty years, as society moves more and more information onto computers, we will witness the death of objectivity. This statement, then, raises the question that "did objectivity ever exist?" Mainstream news has been a political and ideological business rather than an objective and independent one. She also suggests that the line between journalism and advertising will disappear. Williams argues this point by suggesting that the traditional ways of thinking about news, the commercial models for financing news production, and the legal framework that ensures a protected space for news do not always apply in this new digital landscape (Williams, 36).

Many web sites and portals let Internet audiences personalize content in such a manner that it becomes a reflection of individuals' personal lifestyles. Journalist Alex Ulmanu suggests that all the things supported by advocates of online journalism, such as maximum interactivity and the non-linear structure of stories, might also be viewed as

serious threats. Simply by customizing news pages, a wall is being built by letting in only things of interest. He argues that "we select our news, our stories, and ultimately our views of reality" (Ulmanu, URL). However, the question is whether it is the same or not with traditional news preferences of people. It is also quite likely to ignore certain TV channels or newspapers and receive a biased perspective on events.

News accuracy is a larger problem in the case of the Internet than it is with other media. Ellen Hume claims that the Internet is the biggest information source ever created and that people must be their own editors. According to Hume, the disadvantages are that the material can be overwhelming and the source of what comes across people's screens is often more difficult to determine than they might think (Hume, URL). Similarly, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, suggests that, "If you cover the world cynically and assume that everybody is Machiavellian and motivated by their own self-interest, you invite your readers and viewers to reject journalism as a mode of communication because it must be cynical too (Palser 2001, 62)." As a response to these concerns, many people do find their way on the information highway as long as they follow some basic rules. For example, according to Roland De Wolk, who gives suggestions on how to evaluate online news, the following points are worth considering. One, individuals should check whether the author has identified the source of his or her information in enough detail so that they can find the source and check the data themselves. Two, they should ask the old journalism questions: who, what, when, where, why, and how. If the story lacks these concrete details, then it is suspicious; it gives one no possible way to check up on the information and might be therefore safely categorized as of poor quality. Individuals should never

trust anyone who says that she or he is objective. They can only trust people who let them know their opinions up front. Individuals should always check everything important with at least two sources that have opposite biases (De Wolk, 46).

From the professional's point of view, Michael Oreskes, chief of the Washington Bureau of The New York Times, says that standards are not about new technology; they are about basic rules and values, and the challenge is how to preserve high quality in journalism given that online journalism is delivering news on a continuous basis. Oreskes also argues that "Honesty, accuracy, and fairness do not go out of fashion because technology has changed" (Cited in: Arant and Anderson, URL). He goes on to argue that the new media technologies are and will continue to be in constant change. Ethics frameworks must be updated regularly when new issues concerning the new media or changes in society's norms make themselves evident. He also underlines that if trust is damaged as a result of inaccurate news outlets, then the reliable, responsible news outlets will be damaged as well (Cited in: Arant and Anderson, URL). Mike Cuenca also points out that Internet journalism's content is not different from that in other media: "What we put on the Web is not new. It is words and pictures. We've been generating words and pictures for many hundreds of years. There is nothing new or original about putting the same old stuff on a new medium" (Cuenca, URL).

In terms of financial concerns, it is often stated that online journalists cannot make a real living, and this is harmful to the quality of online journalism practices (Gunay, URL). However, Reuven Frank believes that just as the marketplace always has rewarded "quality," it will continue to do so although there are many quality products that have failed and many poor products that have succeeded. Frank also emphasizes that

people are far from those very early days of the World Wide Web when everything was presumed to be free. Subscription systems requiring user registration have been replacing free online news sources (Frank, 38). Web users, in a few cases, already pay fees to read articles. For now, however, the costs and the inability to make a profit on the Internet still trouble some news organizations, and in fact, the revenue is coming out of the traditional newsrooms (The Impact, 4). Therefore, the majority of journalists and reporters prefer to stay with their old media institutions rather than join online journalism organizations (Colamosca, 32). Finally, another aspect of the financial concerns in terms of audience perspective is that the web excludes people who cannot afford computers, and therefore people cannot receive news and information equally (The Impact, 4). However, the technology, as in the past with television and VCRs, might reach most some day. In the meantime, however, obtaining news off the Internet might continue to be largely for the educated elites.

Despite the fact that the above concerns exist, Internet journalism is not a field about which people should be worried. Journalism, already instant and global, can be released by digital technology from many time and space restrictions, offering unlimited opportunities for both consumers and providers. Hume suggests that the Internet has made interactivity important and this fact is now changing the way news is delivered and received:

> Online news customers become archaeologists; they can start at the surface with the headline, digest, or summary of the news, and then click on words or pictures to read longer stories, related features, analysis pieces, and sound and video clips. Finally, they will reach original documents and discussion groups on an issue (Hume, URL).

It also is good for journalists because it opens up a new market for recycling material that currently appears once and then disappears. From the journalists' perspectives, it is interesting to be able to see which stories attract the most readers and receive instant feedback. What reporters also have found is that e-mail brings valuable news tips. "The reporter's dream has come true" Hume says and adds, "Now there is a bottomless news hole" (Hume, URL). Another reason that some journalists are turning to the Web is that print and broadcast outlets are sometimes restricting and budget-oriented. Therefore, the new technologies break the journalist's monopoly, which is considered an important step towards more democratic news coverage.

Similarly, Stroehlein argues that the fact that people live in an information age is true but that interpretations of this fact maybe misleading. People have always had many sources of information and what we are facing with the Internet's content is not new. The reality is that the world will always have more information than people can take in. He asks whether people can say that they have seen every printed newspaper in existence or have visited every library and read every book. Long before the Internet, there were already many newspapers and books in the world's libraries. He argues that although much information is now more easily accessible, the basic truth about humanity's relationship to information has not changed because there has always been more information than time (Stroehlein, URL).

New technologies have also created new concepts such as the weblog phenomenon. Hope Cristol points out that in addition to online newsletters published by associations and individuals, the recent independent weblog phenomenon, with postings that range from the personal to the political, leads to a powerful new form of amateur

journalism as millions of Internet users take on the role of columnist, reporter, analyst, and publisher (Cristol, 8). Blog supporters suggest that mainstream news is the product of many people's opinions about what people should know (Seipp, 42). Readers may find weblogs more credible than traditional media because weblogs have no corporate interest to serve. They are not censored by advertisers or restricted by editorial policies, and therefore weblogs are a highly democratic publishing media (Cristol, 8). Except for certain cases, however, only a few weblogs attract large Internet audiences. People are still more interested in institutionalized alternative news sources.

At this point, it is important to examine why Internet journalism is identified with alternative news. This part of the literature review will examine alternative online media, including the definition of alternative media and the pros and cons of this concept. There are some stories and issues that are underreported in the mainstream media and the banned ideologies, whenever they find a way to present themselves, use the news, which should be the most objective element in the media, to defend their ideas. Given the circumstances of the corporate media and alternative media, it is not surprising to observe how these two different agencies have been experiencing the trend toward globalization, the former as supporters and the latter, most frequently, as critics in society.

Michael Albert argues that alternative media try to set an agenda and style that corporate-dominated media ignore. Besides offering a sense of community, the alternative media also provide much-needed context and history. Recognizing that there is much to be improved, they have been working overtime, believing that independent access to information will bring about change. According to Albert, what makes alternative media alternative is not their product; there has to be a mainstream voice to

cover an area and also an alternative version to it covering the same ground. Being alternative as an institution does not simply mean that an institution's editorial focus is on this or that topic or left or right in editorial content. How an institution is organized and how it works are crucial points to determine whether a media institution is alternative or not (Albert, URL). Being alternative does not only mean being leftist or for that matter activist. There are many perspectives' and countries' sites on the Internet. This feature of the Internet makes even a country's mainstream media alternative on a global scale. Therefore, it is important to realize that the definition of alternative might change according to the context in which it is being used.

The consensus is that truly alternative media are independent and sometimes even radical and counter-cultural, in contrast to the mainstream media, which are consumer-oriented and rarely participatory. Alternative media believe that they promote not simply dialogue but a do-it-yourself ethic. Alternative media journalists basically seek a broad and non-elite audience (Alternative to What?, URL). However, the number of alternative news resources is so great that the issue of credibility in online alternative journalism has become significant. Trust is hard to gain for many alternative web sites as there is less filtering on the Internet, and anyone can be a reporter. The danger is presented by Fred Brown, who points out that all the arbitrary choices contribute to a sort of social sectarianism, the forming of the citizenry into isolated blocs instead of participants in the broader community of self-governance (Brown, 1).

A general consensus amongst the public in recent years suggests that mainstream journalism has come to serve as a channel for government and business through their public relations consultancy firms. They upload their controlled news in the public

domain, save on advertising, and utilize the impact of press coverage to satisfy their aims. Therefore, there are some ethical questions in Internet journalism's stakeholders' minds such as what alternative journalism's purpose should be and whether making profits should be the main concern of this field (De Wolk, 130). Without having connections with some kind of a power group, however, the alternative media's financial situation is more difficult because their alternative viewpoints make them less attractive to advertisers (Jacobs, URL).

The web empowers activists and groups worldwide, according to Alan Albarran and David Goff. People are more aware of what others are doing through alternative online websites (Albarran and Goff, 52). Internet journalism has the potential to be the voice of the public and to maintain a sense of community as an alternative source. According to Fred Brown, as long as news organizations maintain their responsibilities even as they change their approach to meet the demands of a new means of information delivery, the change is going to be positive (Brown, 58). The biggest concern is that alternative voices are able to create an overwhelming amount of information flow. From the citizen's perspective, a positive element of this flow stems from the ability to say no to certain news coverage. Individuals can provide feedback or choose what to read, engaging with the media as interactive agencies (Webster, 79).

Umit Atabek argues that alternative media possibilities are matters of politics rather than technical developments. He says that every new technology makes those with alternative voices excited about the opportunities and hegemonic powers suspicious about these changes, and that the hegemonic powers seek to gain control of these new media technologies. He suggests that the Internet is promising in terms of the alternative

possibilities that it has created (Atabek, 2003, URL). However, since it is a transitional time in terms of the Internet's evolution, any optimistic or pessimistic prediction will not be realistic at this point. What is seen on a global level, however, is that the Internet offers an alternative to other media simply because it gives an endless source of information in every language, from other media, and in a very simple way as long as access to the Internet is not an obstacle.

Moreover, according to Atabek, it is usually agreed that the Internet is a serious alternative to mainstream news and that the Internet provides several challenging solutions to the known problems of traditional journalism. He argues that although mainstream conventional media are the key element in creating and maintaining the hostility between people, individuals can still discover many positions on the same topics in the alternative online media. The Internet provides freedom to those who wish to escape from such a controlled environment as well. Many groups tend to transmit their conflict-producing thoughts over the Internet rather than through the conventional media (Atabek, 2000, URL).

Ronald Jacob also believes that the Internet encourages extremism and intolerance, as some activist movements demonstrate. However, these groups existed before the Internet, and they were perfectly capable of using 'old' media to recruit new members and reinforce extremist views. Therefore, critiques must look beyond the actions of fringe groups and examine the media consumption practices of more typical citizens (Jacobs, URL).

In brief, online alternative news media give a chance for less popular newspapers

or TV stations or, for that matter, to all less recognized media to find their audiences. Alternative media have the potential to create a more democratic news atmosphere as long as ethical issues are clear and access to the media is not censored by the corporate powers or governmental agencies, as has been the case with other media. Further since the Internet is still in the process of being defined, the efforts to regulate this medium are not easy to do either.

The issue of censorship and government intervention needs to be taken into consideration when talking about the Internet's providing a voice to alternative news sources. The regulative side of the Internet is just as important as the technology upon which it is based. The least understood aspect of the Internet is, however, its management. There are different ways of censoring the Internet. Governments have played as large a role in running the Internet, as have the private sector interests that made it available to the general public. In recent years, this subject has become an issue of intense commercial and international interest, involving multiple governments and commercial organizations (Kahn and Cerf 2002).

Governments can negotiate transnational laws and regulations to govern the growing areas of life affected by the Internet. They can turn away from the idea of a global web and build technological, legal, and regulatory borders into the network itself. Private firms also employ such technology. It is even possible that governments might not respond to this new technology due to its complexity. Another view is that the future of the Internet will be shaped not by governments but by technological decisions and the companies that make them (The Economist, 25-26). According to Richard Spinello although the Internet has always been an anarchic technology, there will always be a need

for some type of stability imposed from above-- that is, from the government or other centralized authorities. He claims that, at a minimal level, there must be a central body both to manage Internet domain name distribution and to handle trademark disputes (Spinello, 30).

Decentralization and cooperation have enabled the Internet to grow faster for longer than any other technological phenomenon in history. Many governments feel "threatened" by this decentralizing power and have sought to impose centralized controls on this new medium since users can take advantage of the Internet to undermine intellectual copyrights, moral values, and political elites in society. It is important for governments to understand how decentralization makes the Internet work so that they will know that the Internet is actually very hard to break (How the Internet Works, URL). If government officials were to think that the Internet needs some type of regulation, then key issues include how that order should be imposed and how the Internet should be governed. Laws and regulations are one solution, and technological solutions are another (Spinello, xi).

Although controlling technology through law and regulation often has been unsuccessful, correcting technology with other technology has been far more effective. Regulators, for example, have had a hard time suppressing the spread of pornography on the Internet, but blocking software systems that filter out indecent material have been much more successful. This successful filtering reflects the net's paradoxical nature--it empowers individuals and allows them to exercise their rights, including free speech, more vigorously, but it also makes possible effective technical controls that can undermine those rights (Spinello, 2-25).

Spinello addresses three basic top-down models that have some plausibility to control the Internet and they are worth reviewing. The first one is "Direct State Intervention" which suggests that the existing laws of each nation can govern the Internet. The state can extend its current laws so that they apply to pertinent activities in cyberspace. The second model is "Co-ordinated International Intervention" which suggests that a new intergovernmental organization composed of representatives from countries that use the Internet can establish new rules and regulations for cyberspace that will have international jurisdiction. The third model is self-governance, where the net will develop its own semi-official political structure, and charters established by non-profit organizations that represent the Internet's stakeholders will govern it. In summary, the independence of the Internet becomes another way of assessing governments' will to encourage or limit a free press (Spinello, 30). No matter which combination of methods is in use, Internet stakeholders (including states) must respect the core human values of liberty, free speech, and privacy. Doing so will help to ensure that any damage that accompanies regulatory activities will be kept to the barest minimum (Sussman, URL).

According to Kathryn Kolbert and Zak Mettger's findings, some people want government intervention on Internet content for reasons such as pornography, supervising children's use of the Internet, and controlling offensive material. The authors also give reasons against government restriction. First, permitting censorship of the Internet will open the door to increased private and public censorship throughout society. Second, limits will violate people's democratic rights to free speech. Third, decisions about society's institutions should be left to concerning agencies. Finally, the government

should not have the authority to define what is obscene or harmful to minors (Kolbert and Mettger, 4-5).

The Internet is not simply a part of the mass media. While it is true that many newspapers have Web sites that provide people with the content of their print articles (and more), it is also possible to take part in commercial or educational activities via the Internet. Thus, perceiving the Internet as simply another technologically more complex element of the mass media would be dramatically misleading. Critical legal issues are being raised that profoundly challenge the foundations of journalism, as both news reporters and the news itself continue their march into cyberspace (Caruso, 51). Adam Liptak, the senior Counsel in the legal department of the New York Times Company says that it is not clear whether all the countries would reach the same conclusion in terms of regulating the medium for journalism. He says: "The Internet…may do enormous incidental damage to the secrets, status and swagger of the American Institutional Press" (Liptak, 13-15).

For now, in terms of western countries' perspective on the issue, Internet sites, including news ones, are not specifically regulated under European or North American legislation. Laws that specifically regulate television and radio have not been applied to the Internet in North America or Europe. However, many laws that relate to speech apply to new media such as the Internet. Courts in both North America and Europe enforce copyright and other intellectual property rights on the Internet under the same laws that apply to traditional media. There is no government agency in North America or Europe that is set up solely to regulate the content of Internet sites. In the United States, the Internet is classified as neither a broadcast medium nor as a telecommunications service.

Instead, a new legal term – "information service" – was created for Web sites and Internet Service Providers (Winner, URL).

The literature review of medium and communications and Internet journalism's theories has supplied a clear ground for the area upon which this research focuses. The second section of the literature review shows that although the Internet has caused some changes and concerns in the area of journalism, the discourses reveal that they have not been at a level that could be called revolutionary. The Internet is not a physical entity like a book or magazine that governments can ban. It does not occupy any specific physical space, so it cannot be shut down or forced to move like a bookstore or theatre. Using it is almost always an individual activity that is hard to monitor without raising privacy concerns. These unique features make it hard--some say impossible--for governments, parents or anyone else to control or limit what is on the Internet.

In the examination of the situation of a modernizing country attempting to grapple with the Internet in terms of its Internet journalism practices, Turkey is an important example. The Turkish government did not become seriously interested in this new technology until the news content made it uncomfortable. The country has a unique political, economic, and socio-cultural environment, and therefore its attempts to control the Internet are worth examining. As McChesney argued, the Internet can create a democratic atmosphere, especially in favor of activist opinions. The Internet, however, is not going to break down the dominance of mainstream (capitalist) media anytime soon since ownership of Internet services, regulation, and advertising are all dominant factors in determining how much power various voices can have on the Internet. A case study of

Turkey, including the governmental regulative aspects of Internet publishing, will examine these issues and is subject of the third chapter.

-- Chapter 2 --

Methodology

Qualitative approaches are useful when the research is about process, meaning or understanding (Kiel, 44). The strength of qualitative research even with a few focused cases and semi-structured questions is that it allows a researcher to delve deep into certain questions (Odynak, e-mail). Since the exploratory nature of my research was more suited for a qualitative study, I am working with a qualitative approach rather than with a less personalized quantitative one. The general focus of this chapter is to provide a description of the methodology used in the thesis. It will outline the details regarding the approach to analyzing the primary data collected in this study. In addition it will briefly describe the sampling techniques, interview, and data analysis methods.

Interview Analysis

Analyzing data is the one of the most challenging aspects of qualitative research. In summer of 2002, I was in Turkey to gather the primary data and material. Before leaving Edmonton, the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Alberta approved my request to conduct interviews in Istanbul-Turkey (See Appendix 2). There are around 30 national newspapers in the country (Gazeteler, URL). I interviewed the editors of a mainstream newspaper *Milliyet* (Ercument Isleyen-editor), a leftist newspaper *Evrensel* (Sadik Cakici-editor), a liberal online news organization *Haberturk* (a manager), and an Islamist newspaper *Milli* (Ekrem Kiziltas-editor) to obtain their organizations' objectives, activities, and opinions about Internet journalism. The reason why this study selected these specific news outlets' editors to interview is because they all represent different points of the aforementioned political axes. Originally, I was going to choose other news outlets, however, some of those news outlets had shut down. The newspapers all have

online versions, except for *Haberturk*, which is available as an online news source. They are all well-established news sources with a diversified reader profile. Their financial capabilities are quite different from each other and so are their practices in terms of print and online journalism (except for *Haber-Turk* since it is an online news-site). Although the sample is limited to four news sources, conclusions drawn from the analysis of these representatives are likely to reflect the practices of the national Internet media.

While arranging the interviews, it was difficult to contact some of the interviewees due to their busy schedule. My journalistic background contributed to my success to gain access to these busy editors under a hectic work schedule. Initial contact with members of these newspapers involved a brief conversation on the phone explaining my request. All of the representatives accepted to give their opinions on the issue. I arranged a convenient time for the interviewees and scheduled appointments at their offices in Istanbul. I had given them an informational letter that briefly described the research project, the interview procedure, questions, some details about confidentiality and anonymity, and an assessment of harm before the interviews started. The interviews were semi-structured, allowing me to cover certain general areas with respect to the changed or unchanged practices of journalism and to provide data relevant to the examination of the initially stated hypotheses. I conducted all these face-to-face interviews, each lasting thirty minutes to one hour.

The interviews gave the freedom to the editors in chief to frame their experiences. The open-ended nature of the interview allowed me to explore from various angles in an effort to generate and obtain reliable responses. During some of the interviews, the discussion shifted around from topic to topic to some extent as individuals offered

information on subjects scheduled for a later period in the interview. In an attempt to maintain a natural flow to the interviews, I did not strictly obey the order outlined in the question list. Moreover, there were time constraints to consider during the interviewing process due to the editors' hectic work schedule and some phone calls that interrupted the discussion. Divergences from the structure of the question list were not, however, common during most of the interviews, so the problem of question-order bias was minimized.

While doing the interviews, I tape-recorded two interviews and transcribed two others. When asked whether the participants would allow the interviews to be tape-recorded, all the editors gave their consent since they know that proper reporting requires explicit data. Unfortunately, technical difficulties prevented me from the tape-recording of two interviews. Finally, I transformed the three hours of interviews into approximately seventeen pages of written interview transcript. The translation process was one of the hardest parts of this project. The fact that I transcribed some interviews by hand instead of tape-recording led to some difficulties in the process of translation. Working with two different languages (Turkish, English) resulted in some loss of meaning. In terms of transcription, a legend is important to include since there are some transitional breaks in the interviews that do not follow from the previous section. I will keep the audiocassettes and transcriptions until this study is complete.

My background helped me to understand the interview setting and construct the questions to be asked in that context. The questions (see appendix 4) dealt with general online journalism issues, alternative and mainstream media, censorship, Internet as a new medium and the September 11th news coverage. I asked questions specifically about

alternative and mainstream online media as well. Some of the questions were loaded, some consisted of more than one question, and some of them included my comments. This resulted in a few answers that were not straight to-the point. I initially expected that the four editors would have similar views, even though ideologically, they represent opposing political ideologies. However, in the interviews this was not exactly the case, specifically with reference to question four (see appendix 2).

I analyzed interview responses to examine changes in journalistic practices. The objectives are limited to examining specifically these four news outlets' practices. Although certain obstacles exist that make direct comparison between the samples impossible (e.g. ideological, economical differences, etc.), possibilities for comparative analysis still exist, and where appropriate, I will make these remarks in the analysis. It is not the goal of this analysis to decide which media outlet is better in terms of Internet journalism practices.

As a final step, I initiated qualitative methodology analysis of the data by N-Vivo, a qualitative methodology analysis software program, which helped to clarify some questions regarding how to handle the data. Before I analyzed the interviews, I needed to thematically code them. The N-Vivo program was very helpful in making one see that if the information are not examined, categorized, and classified well, then the chance to analyze it in a productive way is not likely to occur either. The program also taught me some new concepts and definitions, in addition to the strong features of organizing and managing the data. Ultimately, I decided that I would not use the program for the rest of analysis since source material amounted to only seventeen pages. Still, learning the program by using the interviews helped me to better understand qualitative methodology.

For data that might involve hundreds or thousands of pages, the program would be essential in an age in which speed is almost the equivalent of productivity.

For most of the analysis, manual coding was another option and the analysis is mostly based on this method. I did the initial manual coding with some colored highlighters to emphasize the very general themes. I put some brief comments beside them as reminders of the key points of a whole paragraph or section. I used a simple set of codes to reflect some preliminary categories by marking down the appropriate codes next to the relevant sections of text. For example, general Internet and Internet journalism, Internet practices of newspapers and sites, alternative media-related information, government intervention issues, general media facts related to Turkey, the world, and finally newspapers' moral codes were the main categories. I used one and two-word categorization type of coding.

The remaining material is also important, so I did some additional re-coding. In the coding, if an issue had already been mentioned, I did not code it again in the same interview; although, the frequency with which a topic appeared suggested its importance. I coded repeated sections later. Re-coding is easier than starting from the scratch since one has an idea about the paragraph or section from prior notes or the various color schemes. After reviewing the interview transcripts a second time, I refined the codes further. In some cases, I expanded them into multiple new codes, and in others, I eliminated or collapsed them into other, existing codes. I did not create codes in order to apply any sort of quantitative analysis. Codes provided a way for me to somewhat systematically engage with the data in order to identify and understand emergent patterns and develop themes in what the interviewees said.

Newspaper Analysis

One of the central arguments of this thesis is that Internet journalism has not caused a revolution but a significant change in the area of reporting. Therefore, in order to test this argument, I did a case study that examined a global event in order to observe how this event was portrayed in three different ideologically oriented Turkish newspapers (both their print and on-line editions), each representing views from either the left, the right or the mainstream, and one website offering alternative political views. Examining their "product" further enhanced the research that I conducted through interviewing four editors when I monitored and printed the on-line versions as well as examined the Turkish newspapers that I brought from Turkey. In a way, I was using non-obtrusive measures (looking at the newspapers, print copy) and then comparing them to my perceptions of the answers constructed from the interviews with the same editors on their product. My journalistic background provided me with same insight into how the "news" is constructed. Since I am aware of reporting process, I was able to focus on how a particular ideological perspective or stance might further shape the reporting of a news event. In addition, my sociological perspective helped to construct the "axes" and aid in the interpretation more from an analytical viewpoint rather than an only descriptive journalistic perspective.

Before the stories were analyzed from a content and style-focused point of view, I examined the general features of each outlet in terms of its print (except for *Haberturk*) and online editions. Basically, the general aspects that I explored were source and content, layout design and archival services, as well as advertisements of these news outlets. The section also addressed the similarities and differences between the online and

print versions of the news outlets. Where possible, the analysis made some comparisons between the outlets. The visual elements such as screenshots of the news sites and scanned newspapers are in this section to make it easier to compare the material (print and online). This section also has tables that outline general features of the news outlets such as their interactive elements, search engines, and other related links.

I used qualitative critical techniques to examine these four media outlets' news coverage of the story. I did comparison and contrast content analyses, for which the analysing questions of interest can be found in Appendix 3. There are some tables that outline the emerging patterns of these news outlets' general features as well as specific coverage of a story. I analyzed the websites of *Milliyet*, that is a mainstream newspaper, *Evrensel* that provides a leftist critique on the news, *Milli* that gives religious perspectives on the news coverage, and *Haberturk* that is an independent (in terms of its relation with the government and corporations) more liberalized online news organization. The story (case study) was Turkish parliament's voting on the stationing of US forces on Turkish soil and authorizing the dispatch of Turkish troops in Iraq on February 27th 2003.

I chose this issue due to its sensitivity in Turkey as well as in the world. It was, however, not such an important story such as a war situation in Turkey, which might have prompted coverage out of the ordinary. Since the voting process was not certain in terms of timing, it took some days to decide whether this topic was suitable or not. However, for the research question, as long as the updates of these media outlets were carefully observed, it is not important whether the result of the voting would be certain or not. I monitored and printed out the updates about the story from morning till evening (7.00 a.m.-7.00 p.m.) In fact, it was interesting for me to have gone to Turkish televisions that

have the online broadcasting feature to get the updates because the online media that were following the event did not provide updates as quickly as television did. This was due to the fact that print versions of the outlets had to wait until the next day to publish the next segment on the story and there had to be a comparison made between the online updates as well as the next days' stories. I also monitored and printed out the online versions of the news outlets in Edmonton while the discussions and a potential voting for the bill were continuing in Ankara, Turkey.

I examined the news story (February 27th) in order to see how each news outlet reflected the story and how much difference exists between their print and online versions (if any) as well as how different the online versions were from each other. I brought the February 27th and 28th editions of three newspapers from Turkey to compare them with their respective online editions. The reason why I looked at the February 28th edition was because the result of voting would be in the next day's edition.

-- Chapter 3 –

The Case Study: Turkey

Controlling a news medium is an effective and important way for governments, corporations or individuals to extend their power. The media not only exert power in politics but also influence society economically, militarily, and socially. In Turkey, Internet journalism has been expanding its influence. It is now possible to access many Turkish news resources globally on the web. The Internet has given Turkish-speaking people who live around the world access to different news perspectives, a trend, which is considered a major improvement over citizens' receiving the news through traditional sources. The Internet continues to be an alternative news source and helps to create a more democratic atmosphere for Turkish journalism than existed previously. However, whether this freedom will continue is not clear, as some national governments, including Turkey's, have tried to enact regulations controlling the Internet. This new technology brings another set of problems to the political agenda.

The first section of this chapter will provide a brief overview of the development of the Internet in Turkey, the government's attempts to control the Internet, and reactions from various groups. In order to discuss a perspective on the critiques of Internet regulations in Turkey, the chapter will analyze the interviews done in Istanbul to explain media professionals' perspectives. The second section of this chapter, again based largely on the interviews, deals with these professionals' expectations for Internet journalism in Turkey and use of the Internet in practice. These expectations concerning the practical aspects of Internet journalism in Turkey have been similar to those worldwide. Overall, this chapter argues that the Turkish government did not welcome the Internet, however,

intelligentsia, including media professionals, theoreticians, and policy makers have been supportive of this new technology.

Major national corporations' support initiated the Internet in Turkey. The Internet first appeared in 1993, and by 1996 almost fifteen thousand people were online (Yedig and Akman, 37). A religious-based newspaper was the first to go online in 1995. In 1997, five mainstream newspapers began publishing online. The government's news agency used the word "Internet" in its news stories 289 times in 1997 and 2460 times in 2000. Since the beginning of 2001, the number of news sites has significantly increased (Yedig and Akman, 38).

In the early euphoric days of this new media, a common perception existed that the Internet would replace all other media. The Internet has allowed news to reach citizens in minutes, but only for those who have access to it. Receiving news off the Internet requires hardware, software, and a service provider. These requirements are quite expensive for the average person in Turkey. In a country where only five percent of homes have Internet access (Tissad, 2002, URL), Internet penetration is low compared to that in developed countries, and this percentage might remain low for years (Hurriyet, April 18 2003, URL).

Government policy has had a significant impact on the development of the Internet, both in Turkey and around the world. As Peter Wolcott explains, it is expected to see variations among policy-makers in terms of the rate and extent of the Internet's absorption. These variations will depend on whether government representatives perceive the Internet as positive, negative or value neutral (Wolcott and Goodman, URL). The

experiences of Turkey illustrate the range of perceptions and the influence that policy-makers can have.

In Turkey, two private holding companies own much of the print and broadcast media. As a result, traditional Turkish journalism sometimes suffers from self-censorship and ideological prejudice, that is to say that the editors will censor any news story or idea that might oppose these two corporations' political interests. In addition to these two companies, religious and radical leftist media also apply self-censorship, which is not surprising in a country where controversies and, as a result, clashes are embedded in everyday life. The Turkish government has sometimes censored or even closed, usually temporarily, private radio and television stations. Where mainstream media are privileged and connected to powerful interests, alternative news sources on the Internet have started "threatening" the system. In response, the first penalty was a 40-month prison term for Superonline's site coordinator, Coskun Ak, who had allowed an article on human rights abuses to be posted on the site's forum. As well, an online discussion administrator was held responsible and sentenced to jail when an unknown participant posted a harsh critique of the government on this administrator's website. *Medyakronik*, a site that was offering critiques of the news, censored itself because of bureaucratic pressures (Ozmenek, URL).

There is no specific Internet law in Turkey. The parliament, however, accepted a communication regulation to include the Internet under its jurisdiction (Akgul and Pekfirin, URL). The Turkish government applies existing statutes based on print technologies to law-breakers on the Internet, claiming that this medium needs regulation for the protection of the state (Unal, URL). Turkey's Constitutional Court decided to

apply the controversial communication regulation that gives the government as much power over the Internet as it has over the rest of the country's media. The regulation suggests that Internet service providers could face fines up to $325,000 CND[2] for any kind of "wrong" comments or "in-correct news" published on the web. Part of the new regulation requires websites to register officially and submit their material to authorities for approval (McMahon, URL). The new regulation puts the Internet under the control of Turkey's Supreme Radio and Television Board (Jones, URL). As a result of the new regulation, sections of various laws cover the Internet, but invariably they interpret the Internet based on crude analogies; for example, the Press Law requires each periodical to have a responsible manager who is at least a high school graduate and above the age of twenty one. Publishers must submit one copy of each issue of a newspaper or journal to the local prosecutor's office as soon as it appears in circulation. Individuals have to submit a copy of their websites whenever they update them to be approved by the local authorities. In practice this regulation does not affect the updates of the sites, since it is understood that it is almost impossible to implement this kind of ongoing process. The owners of Internet cafes, before they start running their businesses, have to assure the police that they will prevent people from accessing terrorist and pornographic sites (Hurriyetim, June 21 2003, URL). These regulations, however, turn out to be impractical when applied to the Internet (Altintas et al., URL). Still, government officials claim that these new regulations will bring the Internet in line with the rest of the Turkish media (Jones, URL).

[2] All figures are in Canadian Dollars. In this thesis are presented in Canadian Dollars based on an exchange rate of $ 1 to 1.133.000 TL.

The Turkish Ministry of Defense prepared a draft law entitled "The National Information Security Act" which would have introduced stiff regulations to control Internet traffic. It would have also prescribed heavy punishments to those who refused to obey (e.g., prison sentences from three-to-six years and fines from $54,000 to $232,000). This act declared any personal or commercial data flowing through the national communication networks to be under the direct control of the Turkish government. It would have required Internet Service Providers (ISP s) to respond to all requests by the National Information Security Organization for any information sent over the Internet. Refusing to comply with such requests would have made their administrators liable for one-to-five years of imprisonment (Altintas et al., URL). As a result of consistent reaction from the public (or more precisely, the Turkish intelligentsia), the parliament did not put these draft acts in its legislative agenda (Unal, URL).

In practice, Turkey has been using a powerful watchdog body (Internet Supreme Council) to control the Internet, which includes senior military and intelligence officials in order to limit perceived threats to its security. The Turkish intelligentsia harshly criticizes efforts to control the Internet on behalf of democracy and freedom of communication. In terms of Turkey's governing bodies' and professionals' approaches to Internet journalism, the difference is in the perception of the new technologies by the governing bodies, not by media professionals (McMahon, URL). Many Turkish websites went offline to protest against this situation, including the Association of the Turkish Internet Service Providers, which protested this act as a restriction to Internet expansion in Turkey (Tissad, URL). Critics included the Turkish President, who referred the law to

the Constitutional Court in May 2002, suggesting that it contravened the constitution (http://turk.internet.com).

Law enforcement bodies and some attorneys argue that there is no need for a specialized law regarding the Internet. They would have preferred to see some sections of the existing laws modified or new sections added (Tozkoparan, URL). Yaman Akdeniz, who is a cyber-law specialist, suggests that government cannot just state that the Internet needs to be kept under state control. Doing so requires a great deal of knowledge and understanding before the government decides on a law that would regulate it (Akdeniz, URL). NGOs also advise that a body like the "Internet Supreme Council" is not necessary because one cannot hope to consolidate problems related to diverse aspects of the Internet (such as digital signatures, electronic notaries, and virtual terror) under the umbrella of the same body. Moreover, they think this council should not make a decision since it is an organization that is under government control (Ukan, URL). In fact, the chairman of Radio Television Supreme Council (RTUK) says that Turkey is facing a situation that suggests that the government does not know how the Internet works. Accordingly, officials categorize it as a newspaper and suggest high fines for the mistakes or wrongdoings of Internet publishers. But doing so does not encourage good Internet communication because usually the content providers are amateurs who do not have much financial backing (Secen, URL).

Some critics of the law accuse the government of being blind to criticism. But, in particular, media law specialists argue that the law is deliberately ambiguous. According to Fikret Ilkiz, a media lawyer for the Turkish daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, the government could accuse Internet providers of being responsible for anything that users

say, even in chat rooms. He also argues that the notion of false news is too ambiguous to penalize some websites (Hurriyet--23 November--URL). Haluk Sahin, a newspaper columnist and professor of media studies, sounds a warning by stating that if the Internet technologies are ignored, then a great opportunity is missed. "A new train has arrived. Whether we embark on that train or not is up to us, and the younger generation seems determined to do that. But unfortunately the older generation and the politicians do not seem to be of the same mind (quoted in Jones, URL)." As an "old generation" journalist, Sahin seems to understand the changes that the Internet has brought into Turkish media.

Viewing the Internet as a potential instrument for crime is misguided. There have been some critiques of the government policies from international bodies as well. The European Union, which Turkey aspires to join, has strongly condemned such legislation. According to Kemal Altintas, laws concerning the Internet should state any restrictions clearly, and if a crime is not defined in the law, then the government should not consider that a criminal act has occurred. Especially in Turkey, law-making bodies define constitutional notions vaguely--such as maintaining the "indivisible unity of the state with its country and people"-- so that in principle, it is possible to charge minority and non-violent individuals and demand heavy punishments (Altintas Carr et al., URL). The Turkish government should take heed and not hurry to categorize the Internet in a traditional manner. Requiring web page designers, page owners, and content providers to submit a copy of a web page, e-mail message, or similar information flowing through the Internet to designated government organizations is against the nature of the Internet.

The Internet's existence is to the political advantage of everyone including the journalist in the country. Many journalists publish articles that neither television nor

newspapers dare print due in part to the confusion over existing legislation. In the framework of reaction from the news media, based upon a question about government intervention involving the Internet, Ekrem Kiziltas (who is the chief editor of a fundamentalist newspaper [*Milli*]) gives this response[3]:

> The government officials think that if the Internet did not exist, things would be easier… They approach this new technology with a lot of suspicion… Instead of encouraging the usage of the Internet, they put obstacles in the way of receiving free and different views…(Kiziltas, 3)

He continues by saying that the government, however, should realize that access to the Internet is a right that nobody can take away. Indeed, the Turkish Constitution protects freedom of communication regardless of medium (The Turkish Constitution, URL). Furthermore, he cites the example of *Medyakronik* (the critical media-watch site that examined the media's news coverage and commented on it) that was closed down due to the bureaucratic pressure.

Many representatives of the media outlets mention the idea that government intervention on the Internet is a way of serving the ruling class's interests. An Islamic newspaper (*Milli*), a leftist newspaper (*Evrensel*), and an independent liberal news-site (*Haberturk*), all emphasize the Internet as a medium that has offered the opportunity to challenge the embedded interests of the ruling class in society. A manager of the first Internet news site (which is an independent organization) says that because "it is not possible" for hegemonic powers to read a news story before it is published on the Internet, some power groups feel threatened. This perception makes some of the political elite frightened of the Internet and motivates them to take some precautions against it. A

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[3] These interviews were conducted in Turkish and required Turkish translation by me. Dr. Feral Temelli (U of A) spot checked my material. Although the ethics review mentions that the newspaper and editor names

manager of Haberturk also stresses the issue of time lost due to the bureaucratic obstacles in the country against Internet use. Both *Evrensel* and *Milliyet*'s editors expressed the message that the Internet is unregulated and should not be treated as a regular medium such as radio or TV. However, the chief Internet editor of *Milliyet*, which is one of Turkey's liberal newspapers, says that those who know about it and its technologies should regulate it. He also argues that the Internet should not be an anarchic medium in which everybody can say whatever they want.

The editor of the Internet version of a leftist newspaper called *Evrensel*, Sadik Cakici, insists on the necessity of a special law pertinent to the Internet instead of categorizing it as if it were similar to radio, television, or newspapers. Cakici blames a classical tendency of the Turkish bureaucracy to be dominant in every aspect of the Turkish media. He insists on taking developed Western societies' attitude into consideration when making Internet regulations. According to Cakici, the government attempted to censor the Internet, claiming child pornography and the encouragement of terrorism as justification. He, however, says that people can find loopholes to avoid censorship under every circumstance. Cakici also points out, "It is possible to provide fraudulent news over the Internet. One can insult another person." However this danger is not limited to electronic media.

The expectations and the approach by the media to this new electronic phenomenon have not been greatly different than the media in developed countries. The second part of the chapter presents some outcomes in the interviews based on the

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will remain confidential, the names are used in the thesis upon the written permissions of the editors. However, permission to use the real name was not obtained from one of the editors.

research question that is whether Internet journalism is as revolutionary as it was thought to be.

One of the particular advantages of Internet journalism is instant coverage, even though two media outlets' representatives do not do last minute journalism. Ekrem Kiziltas (who is the chief editor of a fundamentalist newspaper [*Milli*]), gave these insights concerning *Milli*'s practices of Internet journalism and journalism practices in general:

> We are doing online news, because everybody is doing it. It is just another way of exhibiting our news and perspectives. The content is the same… In terms of objectivity, those who do only online news brought good values to the work ethic… There are some difficulties for the law. The Internet needs more attention from the stakeholders who deal with it… The Internet is a rich source for the media to get news out. It creates content for us… Human-centered Internet news is going to be successful in the future (Kiziltas, 1-7).

Sadik Cakici, thinks that the Internet enables real up to the minute journalism. The editor, however, puts the same content on the web with some constraints in terms of space and manpower. For example, Cakici states that adequate staffing is a problem for a newspaper such as *Evrensel* because the expenses are quite high for them to hire people who can work full time. Cakici also believes that people's education and intellectual level are important in terms of being able to access Internet journalism. In fact, it is a common view among some other interviewees that a quality site can be successful in terms of being recognized as trustworthy since the Internet audience tends to go to intellectual sources.

The reasons why an Internet audience goes to online news sources are different for Ercument Isleyen. He says, "At workplaces, there is usually no TV. The Internet is for people who work. There is no fear of missing something; if you are connected you can

get the news." He then criticizes *Haberturk* since most of the time it compiles news stories from other newspapers and online sources. He says, "*Haberturk* is taking advantage of a legal gap. You cannot just write *Milliyet* under the story and think that it is okay." This is to say that *Haberturk* usually compiles its news from other sources and only names the source (usually newspapers) at the bottom of the news story. *Milliyet*, as a newspaper that updates pretty quickly, however, has to verify its information from TV and news agencies in order to immediately post it on the Internet.

Also, according to Cakici (*Evrensel*), the practices in online journalism would not be accepted as a sufficient (in terms of its professional and ethical aspects) way of journalism in print media. He says, "Internet news sources compile the news from daily newspapers and filter it through their organizations' point of view. They claim that they are the sources." A manager of the first Internet news site (an independent organization), as a response to above concerns, argues that *Haberturk* is being read in Europe and other parts of the world, which is quite promising for its future success. A manager of Haberturk mentions that people can find stories unique to *Haberturk*, too. A manager of Haberturk suggests that people should be patient and wait to see the good sides of online journalism since new technologies have been introduced only recently. He also emphasizes that his site is an alternative source for people who live both in and outside of Turkey:

> Not everybody reads newspapers anymore, especially after Internet journalism took place. Given our target reader group, people want to read news from us including the news stories that are in other newspapers with our *Haberturk* mentality (A manager, 13).

Ufuk Guldemir, whose site (*Haberturk*) has become the standard bearer of the news portals, says that people are witnessing the explosion of a free medium in a closed

society. Turkey's Internet news sites are thriving, while mainstream media suffer from an all time low in the public's esteem since media owners have a stake in banks, corporations, and the like (Erginsoy, URL). Kiziltas suggests that Internet journalism provides more objective news coverage, which means that in a country such as Turkey, especially in the mainstream media, it is sometimes difficult to hear independent voices. This issue of institutionalized media is important because representatives of all four media outlets reported that people go to places that they trust on the Internet, and the Internet might cause potential harm in terms of providing incorrect information.

Financial aspects prevent Internet journalism from becoming the most important source of news according to interviewees. Cakici suggests that if the alternative voices can continue without charging a fee, they will grow in popularity in the future. However, a common concern among all newspaper editors is that publishing on the Internet has resulted in fewer papers sold. As long as online advertisements increase, it is not too important if paper sales drop because there is still money being generated. It is even more profitable for them because they do not to have to spend much on TV or newspapers, but can earn revenue through advertising on the Internet. According to the interviewees, subscription services are not seen as a solution to this problem perhaps due to the fact that the Internet is a new technology, and if this new technology becomes expensive, then in the long run, an opportunity would be lost in terms of accessing a large audience. Kiziltas states that some newspapers made the fees to read their sites even more expensive than their regular print edition price for a month. This is due to the fact that an Internet audience can search their archives. In terms of the financial picture of Internet journalism, if a site has funding from sponsors, it might have to consider what it publishes, as Kiziltas

mentions. And this situation might have a negative affect on this new journalism source. Still, the editors think that Internet journalism might find a way to make a profit as some media companies already do. A manager of Haberturk and Isleyen mention that their advertisement share is quite high on the Internet. Ercument Isleyen asserts:

> All the Internet sites of the Dogan Media Corporation have been tied to an advertising company. Advertisers charge big money, so we get our advertisements done not for one site but ten or fifteen sites at once. We have a sixty five thousand dollars advertising income...This is an extra income source for the newspaper (Isleyen, 12)."

Those that have a good reputation do not have a problem finding enough advertisements for their Internet sites.

How the Internet changes people's habits, in particular, their ways of accessing information is a significant point made in the interviews. They argue that since the Internet is a relatively new medium, it makes it more difficult for people to get used to it in terms of its requirements such as the interactivity and reading off a digital screen. The interviewees mentioned the fact that the Internet requires more interactivity to receive information as readers have the opportunity to respond to the news coverage. However, in terms of reliability and accessibility, they think that TV and radio still offer an advantage. According to Ekrem Kiziltas, "It is not possible for us to say that Internet journalism has affected visual and print media dramatically. The Internet is a dynamic medium because it requires contribution, effort, and interactivity from people." They all predict that Internet journalism is going to flourish in the future. The idea was common among interviewees that as people become more individualized, a medium such as the Internet becomes more significant in their lives since the nature of the medium matches very well with individuality.

There is a great potential for Internet journalism to continue as an alternative news source. Kiziltas emphases the importance of alternative sources on the Internet:

> Imagine a country in which there are many newspapers, radio, and TV stations as well as a population of seventy million and ninety two percent of these people do not trust their media. That is why alternative media are the most important milestones in this picture.

The Internet is seen as an alternative reference source for an important event. *Milliyet*'s editor sees alternative journalism's role as an important one for the mainstream media to stay on track. One can reach a large audience with alternative perspectives according to a manager of Haberturk. The site tends to give news with comments. A manager of Haberturk says that they are an alternative for those who live in the country as well as outside of Turkey. A manager also mentions that they do not have a relation with the ruling class.

> We give things that they cannot give because we are journalists and our group consists of journalists. Our boss is not an owner or manager of a corporation. A journalist set up something with other journalists. I mean with us and we run that. We do not have anything else, no relation with corporations; we are freer in terms of that (A manager, 17).

Cakici also mentions that laid-off journalists (due to the recent economic crisis) have started engaging in Internet journalism in Turkey, and that is why it is identified with critical journalism. There have been many Internet sites attempting to provide electronic journalism. Many of them are alternative sources to the mainstream, which is why Internet journalism has been identified with alternative news in Turkey (International Federation of Journalist, URL).

With just a few computers, server, and media sources, Internet journalism can be practiced. Ekrem Kiziltas suggested that setting up a radio or TV station is much more expensive and difficult than setting up a news site on the Internet. This fact, he feels, as

well as the simplicity of publishing on the Internet, challenges the mainstream media. However, it was also interesting to see that two alternative newspapers are not practicing last-minute Internet journalism. They simply put up the content from their print edition and, most of the time, fail to do updates. Since *Milli* and *Evrensel* cover stories that one would not see in the mainstream, they still provide the opportunity to see different views on issues, even though the sites are not frequently updated. The reasons that they are on the Internet is to reach people who do not buy the newspapers, and most of the media outlets have Internet sites, so they believe it is necessary to have one too. Ekrem Kiziltas, for example, said,

> People we cannot reach with our print edition read our newspaper through the Internet. When we examine our statistical accessibility trends, we see that there is a heavy demand for our newspaper from the places where the print edition is not available… People who do not speak our language read our newspaper. They can learn about the different voices of Turkey, have an idea about the country and evaluate the issues accordingly (Kiziltas, 1-2).

But if this is the case, then, they need to include perhaps an English version of their newspapers along with the Turkish one. Cakici, for example, is well aware of this very fact: "The Internet's role in our daily lives is related to globalization. If we can overcome the language barrier, it is also going to be easier" (Cakici, 10).

For policing purposes, the Internet is not the traditional medium the Turkish government assumes it to be. Some of these difficulties appear in Turkish debates about the Internet, but academic scholarship has paid little attention to them. The popularity of the Internet has grown dramatically in Turkey, although it is very difficult to quantify its perceived value within the country. At the same time, the country 'has reasons' to be concerned about the impact of the Internet on domestic security and culture. Some government officials think that the Internet can spread terrorism and anti-government

activism. Foreign antagonists could use the Internet to gain direct information on delicate issues, or Turkish citizens could launch destructive cyber attacks on important websites and computer installations. Groups fighting for Kurdish and Cypriot interests, for example, have websites promoting their viewpoints and providing a cyber presence for their causes (Wolcott and Goodman, URL). For these reasons, the country has established media and commercial conglomerates that perceive the Internet as a threat to their control over both public opinion and the economy. Against these efforts, academics and journalists are the most obvious groups advocating for Internet rights (Nebil, URL).

In order to improve democracy in Turkey, the government must consider the Internet an opportunity. People should discuss issues freely and be informed about news items that sometimes do not find an outlet in the traditional mass media. The Internet is important for Turkey, and government officials should not sacrifice it under the pretexts of national security, the sovereignty of the state, and other reasons. As Richard Spinello puts it, there may be extreme problems that technology cannot solve, such as monopolistic behavior that threatens the Internet economy. Such situations may demand government intervention, but otherwise 'Internet stakeholders' should be allowed to govern themselves (Spinello, xi).

Internet practices in Turkey have been similar to those worldwide. It seems that in Turkey all the media try to have Internet editions. Surprisingly, those doing Internet journalism only have used the technologies well. Perhaps, this has been due to the fact that being recognized by the Internet audience requires original ideas, and this very situation has caused them to make better use of the Internet, but they are still not identified with last-minute journalism. It is difficult to talk about an independent, self-

sufficient, online news source. In terms of content, since it has been difficult to employ reporters, some of the online sources have been dependent on outside agencies. However, just by being on the Internet, online news organizations provide a great opportunity for their widely scattered audiences for receiving different opinions.

Chapter 4

Analysis of *Milliyet*, *Milli*, *Haberturk* and *Evrensel* in terms of their General and Specific Coverage of News

One of the arguments of this thesis is that Internet journalism has caused a significant but not staggering change in the area of reporting. In order to test this argument, a case study examined a global event to observe how this event was portrayed in three different ideologically oriented Turkish newspapers (both their print and on-line editions), as well as a website offering alternative political views. The first section of the chapter, based on the question list in Appendix 2, will analyze the four news outlets' (the same organizations for which the editors were interviewed) coverage of the Turkish parliament's voting on the stationing of US forces on Turkish soil and authorizing the dispatch of Turkish troops to Iraq in February 2003. This issue was suitable for the case study due to its sensitivity in Turkey as well as its global significance. It was, however, not as important as a war situation in which up to the minute coverage might have prompted coverage out of ordinary practices. Before the stories are analyzed from a content and style-oriented point of view, the section will examine the general features of each outlet in terms of its print (except for *Haberturk*) and online editions. It will also address the similarities and differences between the online and print versions of the news outlets. When necessary, the analysis will make some comparisons between the outlets.

Milliyet

Milliyet, a newspaper, published in Istanbul, asserts that it defends the principles of independence, secularism, and democracy (interviews). It has been in the press business since 1950. *Milliyet*'s owner is Aydin Dogan, a wealthy businessman, whose media corporations are among one of the most dominant in the country (Turkan, A.A).

Milliyet has a circulation of three hundred thousand and started its online publication in 1996. There is no English version of the newspaper (see figure 3).

Sources and Content

Milliyet's news sources are its own news center (with 250 journalists), the Anadolu Agency[4] and other news agencies (Anadolu A., URL). The newspaper covers news stories from a liberal-global perspective, and it uses everyday Turkish. The content is relatively serious. Political issues dominate the news and editorials in its print version. In the beginning, *Milliyet* published the same content from its print version for its online edition, but it later started to put up-to-the minute coverage of the news online. As a result, *Milliyet* created a separate department from the main news center for its online branch (www.milliyet.com.tr). On its print edition's first page, there are summaries of each important story and a page number that shows on which page the specific story continues. The majority of the political, economic and other news stories from the print version are on the Internet. The online version's main page contains as much soft news coverage as political and economic news. The articles, commentaries, and headlines are all listed on the main page of the Internet version.

Layout, Design, and Archival Services

The site has a news indexing system, and the time (i.e. 3:30 p.m.) that a specific story was entered is visible. An archive goes back to November 1996. The news site provides surveys related to topical issues in Turkey. There is a help section that answers questions of its online audience so that they can make better use of the online editions.

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[4] A government news agency that represents the state. It is currently one of the four biggest agencies in Turkey and has the most developed technology in the photograph services field. The Ankara-based Anadolu Agency, which has been in services for the last 83 years, in addition to its general directorate units, also has 18 offices throughout the country (AA Profile, URL).

There are links to the topics of science, sports, health, women, comics, photographs, books, exhibitions, cinema, travel, lotteries, tourism, education, ethical principles of the *Milliyet* Group, job markets, weather forecasts, astrology, automobiles, life, TV programs, fashion, beauty, and other categories, some of which are included as special features in the print edition depending on the day of the week, and some of which do not exist in its print version at all (See Figure 1). These topics are all listed on the main page of the online edition every day. The online version uses photographs and pictures in its news stories and links. Different versions of the online edition are available in the archives and can be accessed by clicking on the "today's edition" link (See Figure 2).

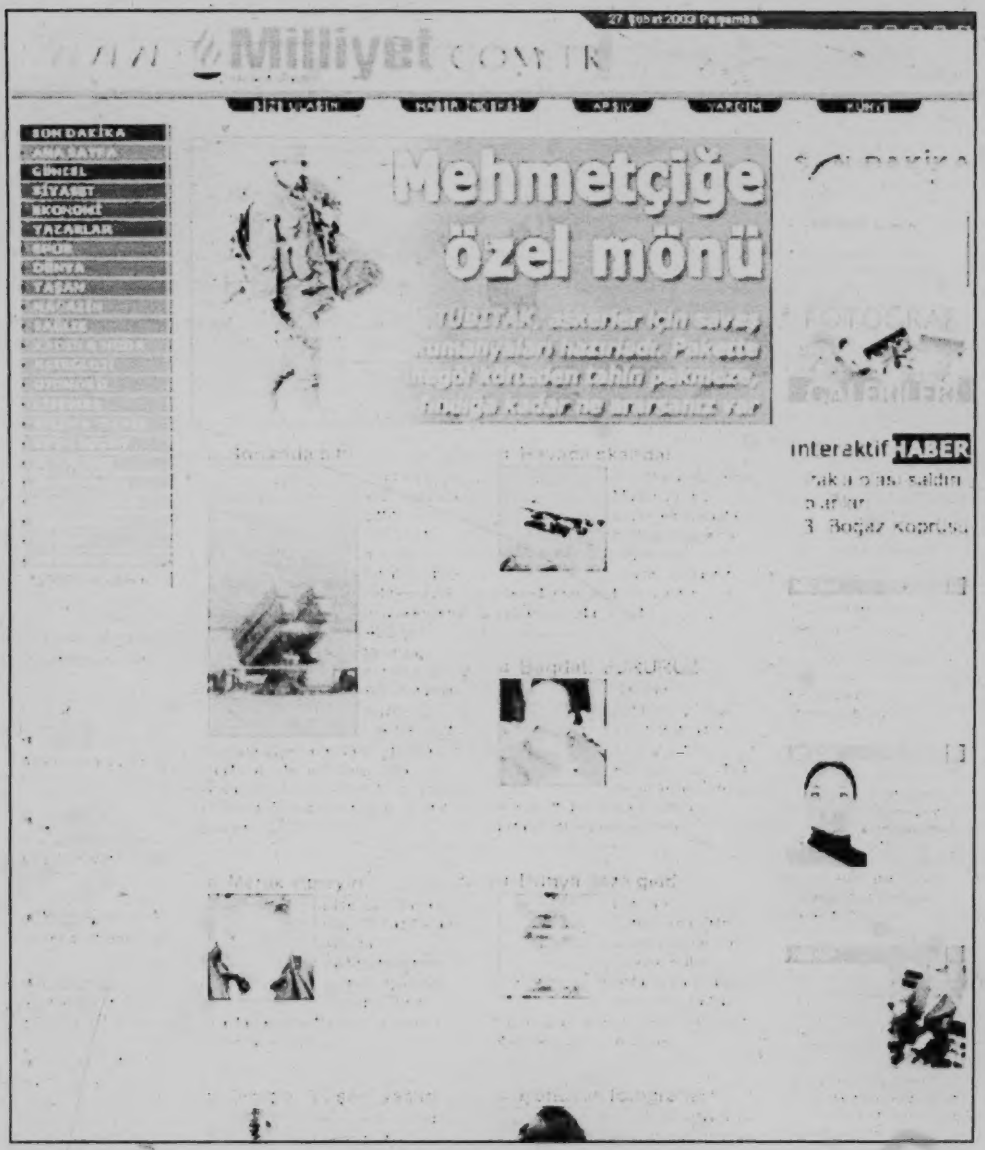


Figure 1: Milliyet's first version of its homepage, February 27th 2003.

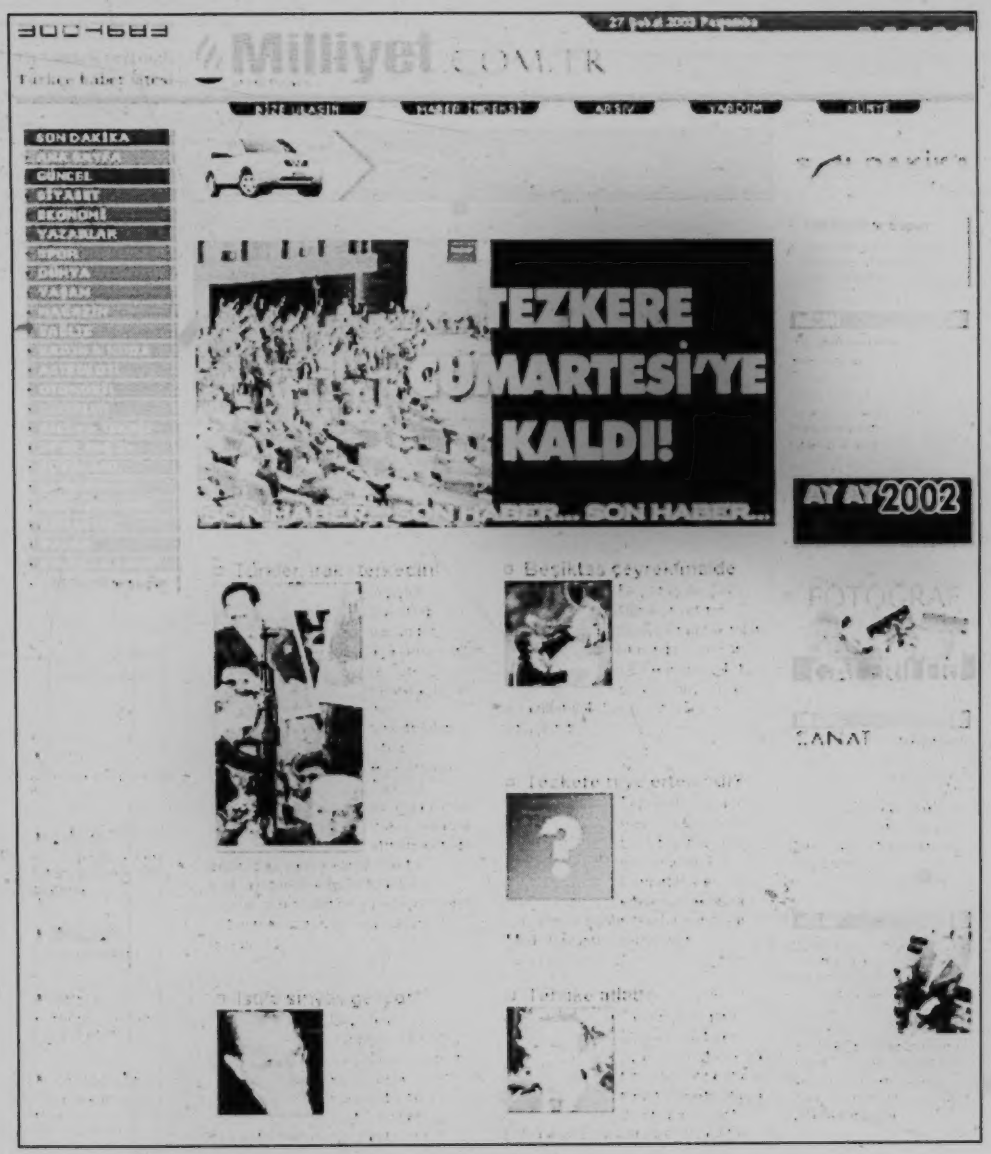


Figure 2: *Milliyet*'s last version of its homepage, February 27th 2003.

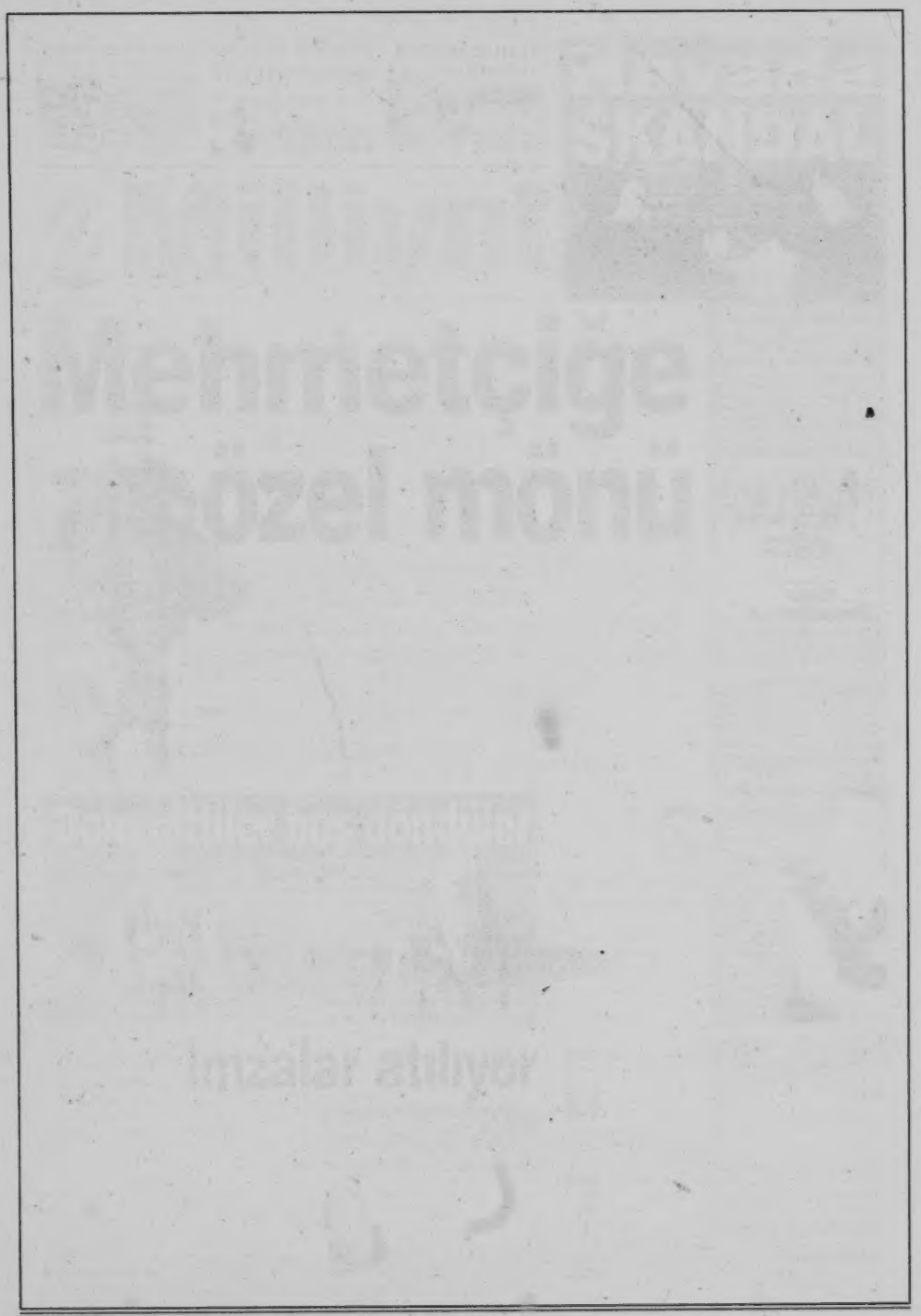


Figure 3: *Milliyet*'s print version, February 27th 2003.

Advertisements

The advertisements on the online version are in the form of links and banners. There are photograph galleries and links to various sites, including *Milliyet*'s other services, the latter of which can be identified as advertising. Advertising takes up much more space on the online version than it does in the print version, with the main page of the Internet edition having more advertisements than the main print page. However, the print version's TV and side publication advertisements take up more space than they do in the online version. On the front page, there are usually no advertisements other than those for *Milliyet*'s side publications and promotions. Its advertisers are from the regular advertising market; that is to say they represent all kinds of mainstream services and products.

Similarities and Differences Between Its Online and Print Versions

There are many similarities in the page designs of the print and online editions. The colors used for the print version (red, blue, black, and orange) are the main colors on the Internet pages as well. Probably, *Milliyet* wishes to establish a clear brand in both mediums. Both its online and print versions have the phrase "trust in press" under the title of the newspaper as well. There are, however, analysis reports on certain issues that are not covered in the online version. Fewer columnists are introduced on the cover page of the print edition as opposed to the complete list of columnists on the online version's main page. The pictures on the online version are quite catchy in the sense that they usually try to awaken interest in the story, perhaps due to public expectations of a multimedia medium. In brief, visual presentation seems much more important in the online version than in the print edition.

Coverage of the Story

There were nineteen updated news stories about the voting of bill and on the 27th between the hours of 9:55 am and 17:20 pm Turkish time[5] *Milliyet*'s first headline was "Special Menu for Turkish Soldiers," emphasizing the possibility that the soldiers would be going to Iraq. The print version also had the same headline on the front page. The second headline announced that voting was going to take place on Saturday. *Milliyet*'s print edition on the 28th announced the bill's delay, with the headline, "Sezer (the Prime Minister) is Playing Hide and Seek." There were nine related editorials and commentaries in the newspaper out of a total of seventeen. *Milliyet*'s columnists discussed various scenarios related to whether the bill would be accepted or not. The article topics were different on the two days. The popular view was that the bill would be voted on and accepted by parliament on the 27th. However, this did not happen. In fact, what Ercument Isleyen said in the interview was reflected in the coverage of the story. In brief, for those who had Internet connections, *Milliyet* offered almost up to minute coverage of developments concerning the voting.

Milli

Published only in Turkish, *Milli* is a daily political newspaper owned by a public company (Yeni Nesriyat Public Company). It has been in the press business for over 30 years. *Milli* states that its concern is not making money but letting people know the truth. *Milli* accuses other media of being overly commercial and supporting powerful corporations through their news. The readers of the newspaper are primarily religious,

[5]All times are on Eastern European Time. There is a nine-hour time difference between Turkey and Alberta. Tables outlining the coverage of the story maybe seen at the end of this chapter.

according to Ekrem Kiziltas (Interviews). *Milli* has a circulation of thirty five thousand. There is no English version of the newspaper.

Sources and Content

Milli's news sources are various news agencies as well as its seventeen journalists. It provides news stories from a nationalistic, religious perspective. The newspaper prefers to use everyday conversational language. The language of the headlines for the political stories is usually questioning, aggressive, and harsh. For example, it may warn the government by saying, "wake up" over an issue that concerns the newspaper. The news is usually full of editorial comments, and the editors often evaluate and interpret events from a religious perspective. It is clear that *Milli* does not have a separate department that creates the online news content independently from the news center.

Layout, Design, and Archival Services

Milli takes advantage of new technologies in terms of appearance but not content, which is to say that it does not provide regular updates. It has a categorization system that includes news, society, family, and economics related stories. As is the case with other online versions of newspapers, columnists, headlines, and advertisements are all on the first page of the Internet edition. There are links, a search engine, weather forecasts for cities around the world, currency exchange rates, prayer times, etc. It has also Flash animations on its online version although there are few pictures on it compared to the

print version. The online archive goes back to September 1998.

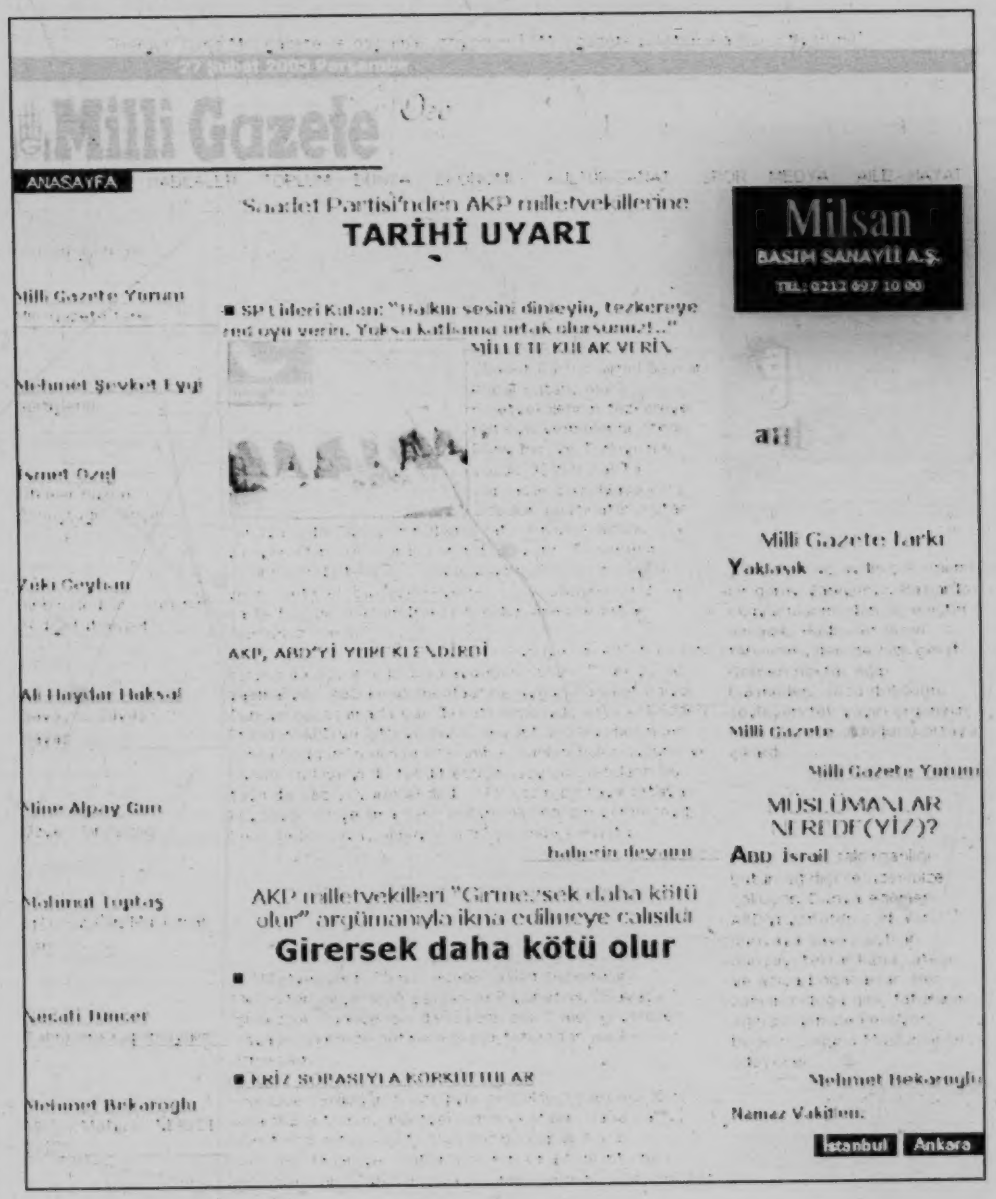


Figure 4: *Milli*'s home page, February 27th 2003.

Milli Gazete

TARİHÎ UYARI

Vebale ortak olmayın!

Girersek daha kötü olur

Figure 5: *Milli*'s print version, February 27th 2003.

Advertisements

Advertising takes up more space on the online version's first page than it does on the print versions'. There are all kinds of advertisements, ranging from those for the newspaper's other publications to services and products for everything except alcohol and banks' services that involve interest. It has many advertisements for its own side businesses as well as for various products and services on its website.

Similarities and Differences Between Its Online and Print Versions

With respect to similarities and differences between the online and print versions of *Milli*, the contents of the main page of the print and online version are not that different from each other. Online version is a summary of the print version in terms of news stories, however, *Milli* has the same number of columnists as the print version does every day on its online version. Both its online (www.milligazete.com.tr) and print versions have a mosque-like logo (see Figure 4 and 5).

Coverage of the Story

Milli put the content of its print edition on the Internet once on the 27th, around noon Turkish time. The majority of the articles were about the bill, of which the columnists did not approve. It announced the story by saying that it was a "Historic Warning" to members of Parliament. On the 28th, the headline was "The Government is Playing With Fire." The same headlines appeared on its online version. In the interview, Ekrem Kiziltas said that if there was a very important development, the editors would update the online pages. However, in practice, they did not, and in fact, they usually do not.

Evrensel

The third news source to be discussed is *Evrensel*. *Evrensel*, which is owned by Fevzi Saygili, is a leftist newspaper with a turbulent history in terms of the Turkish government's censorship efforts against it. For example, one of its journalists was killed by a police officer during questioning. Its basic principles could be characterized as Marxist. There is no English version of the news for a global audience. However, there is a European version (both in print and online) of *Evrensel*, mainly for the Turkish population who live in Germany and in other Western European countries. *Evrensel* has a circulation of five thousand in Turkey and five thousand in Europe.

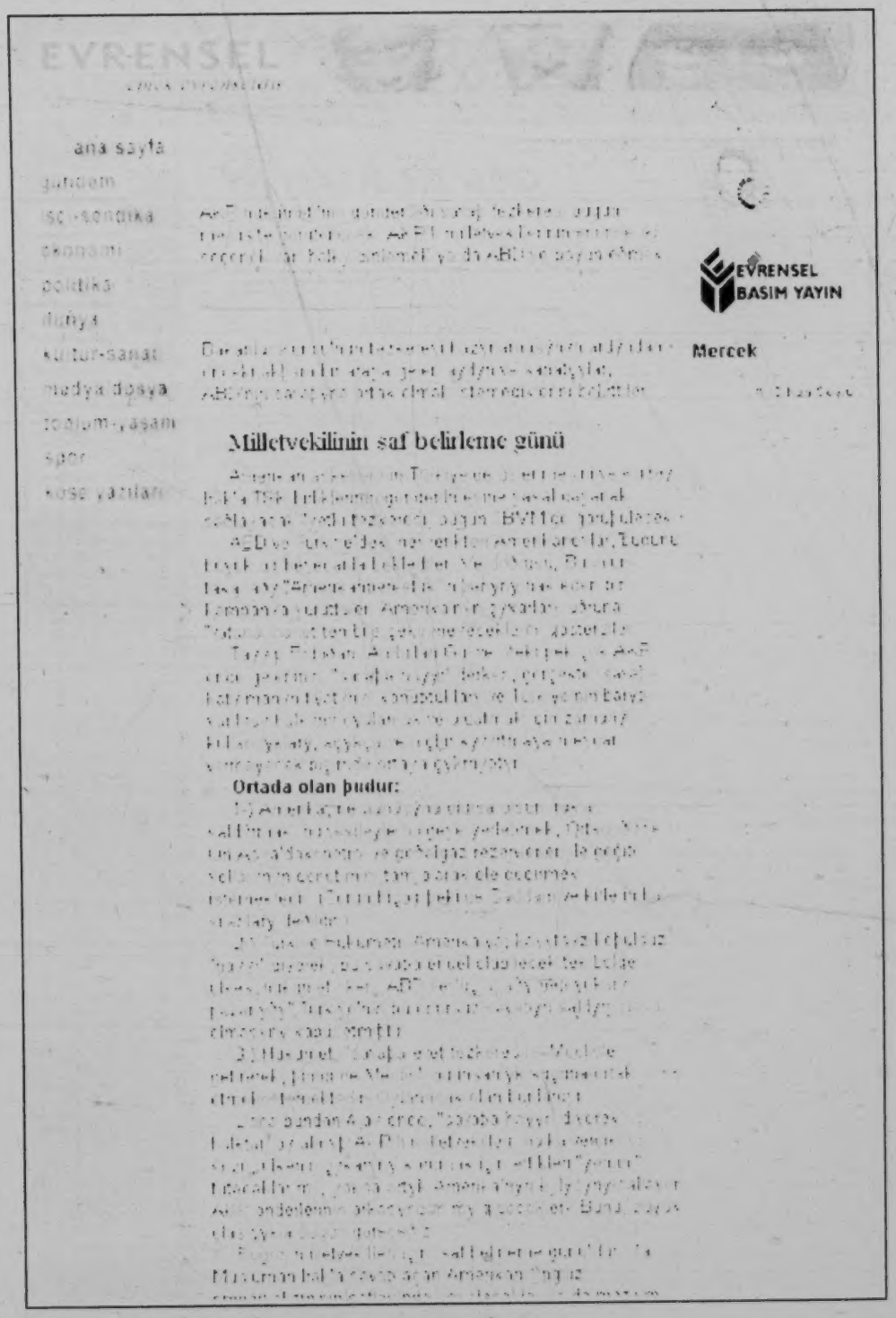
Sources and Content

Its own fifteen journalists provide the stories for the newspaper. *Evrensel* also obtains information from other news agencies such as the *Anadolu* Agency and some other private ones. On the print version's cover page, there are headings for important news stories that belong to different sections, such as agenda, world, politics, and media pages. It uses intellectual but confrontational language in its news stories and the news stories are full of editorial comments. In terms of its online version (www.evrensel.net), even though it gives a link for a German edition, there is no accessibility to it yet.

Layout, Design, and Archival Services

Its online page design is quite straightforward and elegant, with a combination of several colors. Its European edition (www.evrensel.de) is the same, only with different colors. Its symbolic hero, Metin Goktepe, an *Evrensel* journalist who was killed by police officers during questioning, is always pictured on the online version's (www.evrensel.net) top right hand side. The archive system for the Turkish edition goes back to July 2001,

and for the European version, the archive goes back to May 2003. However, not all days are archived on the European version. The commentaries change every day, as do the stories. There are no pictures on the online version. It only has a banner consisting of some black people (they represent the oppressed) at the top of the page. It has a statistics link that gives information such as a reader profile, peak hit hours, hits based on geographical places and the like, which is an unique feature compared to other news outlets' online versions. It also has links to sites with similar socio-political opinions. On the main page of the Internet version, one columnist (of the newspaper) is presented (see figure 6). It is possible to see more headlines and titles of stories on the print version's front page than on the online's, which is usually not the case with other news outlets, which put almost all the headings on the main pages of their Internet versions. The print version looks quite straightforward in terms of page design and colors compared to many other newspapers in Turkey.


EVRENSEL

ana sayfa
gündem
siyaset-ekonomi
ekoloji
dünya
kültür-sanat
medya dosya
toplum-yaşam
spor
köşe yazıları

EVRENSEL BASIM YAYIN

Mercek

Milletvekilinin saf belirleme günü

Ortada olan budur:

Figure 6: The homepage of *Evrensel*, February 27th 2003.

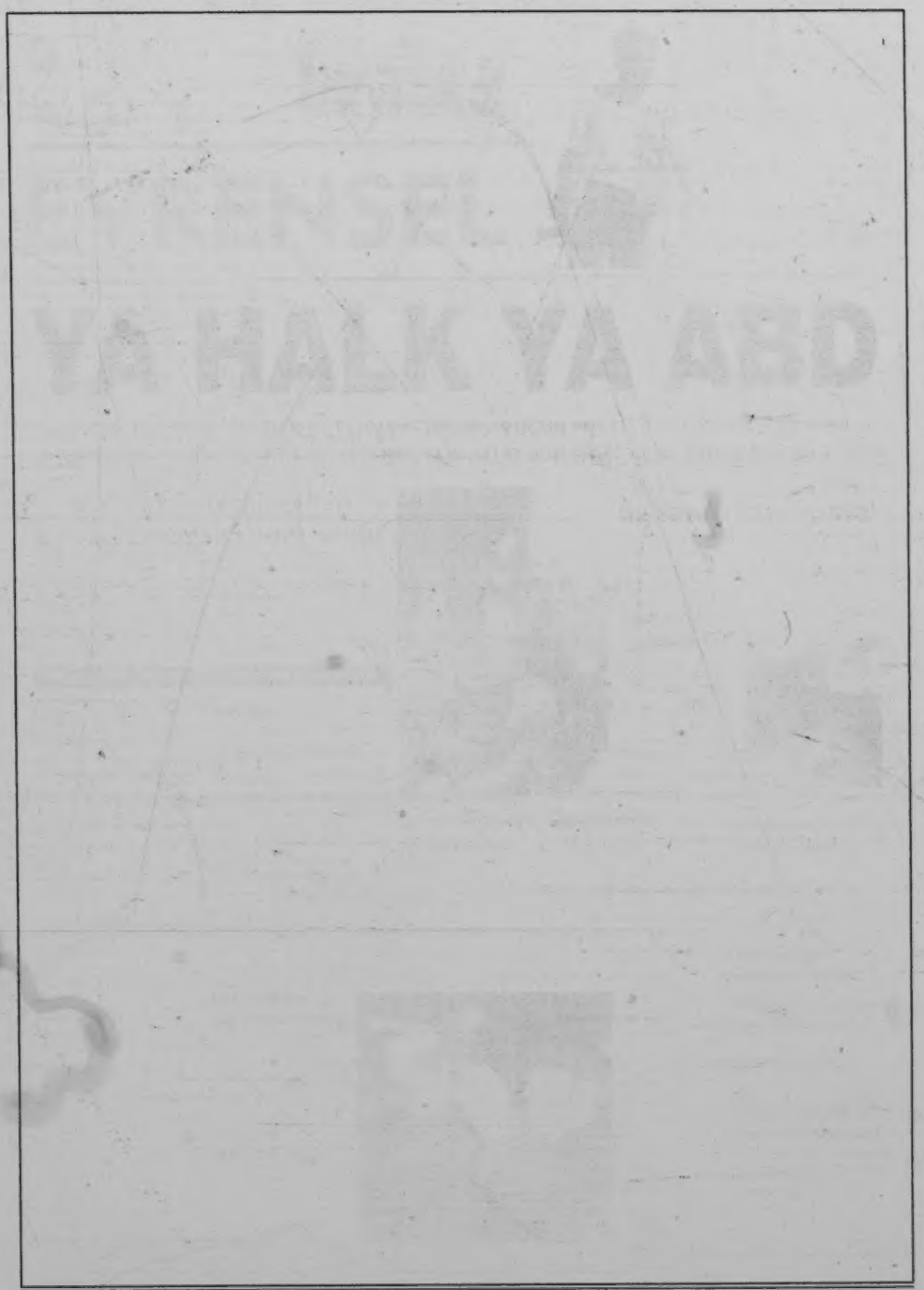


Figure 7: *Evrensel*'s print version, February 27th 2003.

Advertisements

There are no advertisements other than a link to *Evrensel*'s publishing company on its online version. It does not have advertisement in its print edition, which is evidence that it does not seek to generate money, but rather to practice journalism along with its ideological lines (see figure 7).

Similarities and Differences Between its Online and Print Versions

Evrensel's practices are similar to *Milli*'s, with the difference that *Evrensel*'s online edition has fewer stories than the print version does. As Sadik Cakici, the Internet editor, mentioned, the editors do not post all the news stories that appear in the print version since doing so is time consuming and the paper has limited finances. They only post the important stories for the country's or their agenda. The stories in the online version are not written differently from the print version. The print edition has many black and white pictures unlike to its online version.

Coverage of the Story

Everensel did not update its home page from the 26th to the 27th until noon. *Evrensel*'s online version had the story with the headline "Nation or US" on the 27th, the date the voting was going to be held. Its main page, agenda, and its politics pages featured either war or voting related stories. On the 27th, there were two articles about the voting and some related articles on its columnist pages. The article topics were different from each other on the dates concerning the case study. There were generally few differences between the print and online versions in terms of content. For example, the news story about the voting in the newspaper was exactly the same as the online story. In

fact, the editors put the same content on the Internet version except for a few short news stories. The heading for the 28th in both the print and online version was "Their Heart did not Allow Them."

Haberturk

Haberturk (www.haberturk.com), which is an online news source, is a liberal, independent news outlet with a TV station, (which targets Turkish-speaking people in Europe as well as the citizens in the country). It maintains the best-known news site in terms of Internet journalism in the country according to a manager of Haberturk. The owner of *Haberturk* is Ufuk Guldemir, who is an independent journalist. It has been an online news portal since the year 2000. There is no English version of the site, and it does not have a print version. However, the company also owns the *Haberturk* TV station and a newspaper called *Yarin*, which does not have much affiliation with *Haberturk* site.

Sources and Content

The site employs twenty reporters. Its news sources are all other media, which is not surprising, considering the nature of Internet journalism and its challenges in terms of finances and accessibility. In terms of its news coverage, it uses everyday language, and the news headlines are sometimes full of comments. Its reporters go to major events to provide TV coverage, but the majority of the news comes from other media (newspapers and news agencies mainly); changes occur through the addition of some comments.

Layout, Design, and Archival Services

In terms of its physical appearance and functions, the archive system is not the same as that of other newspapers' sites. There is a search engine that brings up recent stories through word searches, but there is no archive system, making it difficult (even

impossible) to find a certain day's edition. Red and dark blue are dominant on the site, although its interface consists of many lively colors. Animated pictures or photographs are usually placed beside each story. There are dictionary, e-card, real estate, shopping, automobile, cinema-video, economic and TV broadcasting links, as well as links to its radio and TV stations (which require free registration with a user name and password) (See figure 8). It also has links to some magazines, finance pages, and comic sites. It enters the time when it updates a story. It usually has a public opinion survey on a current issue concerning the country.

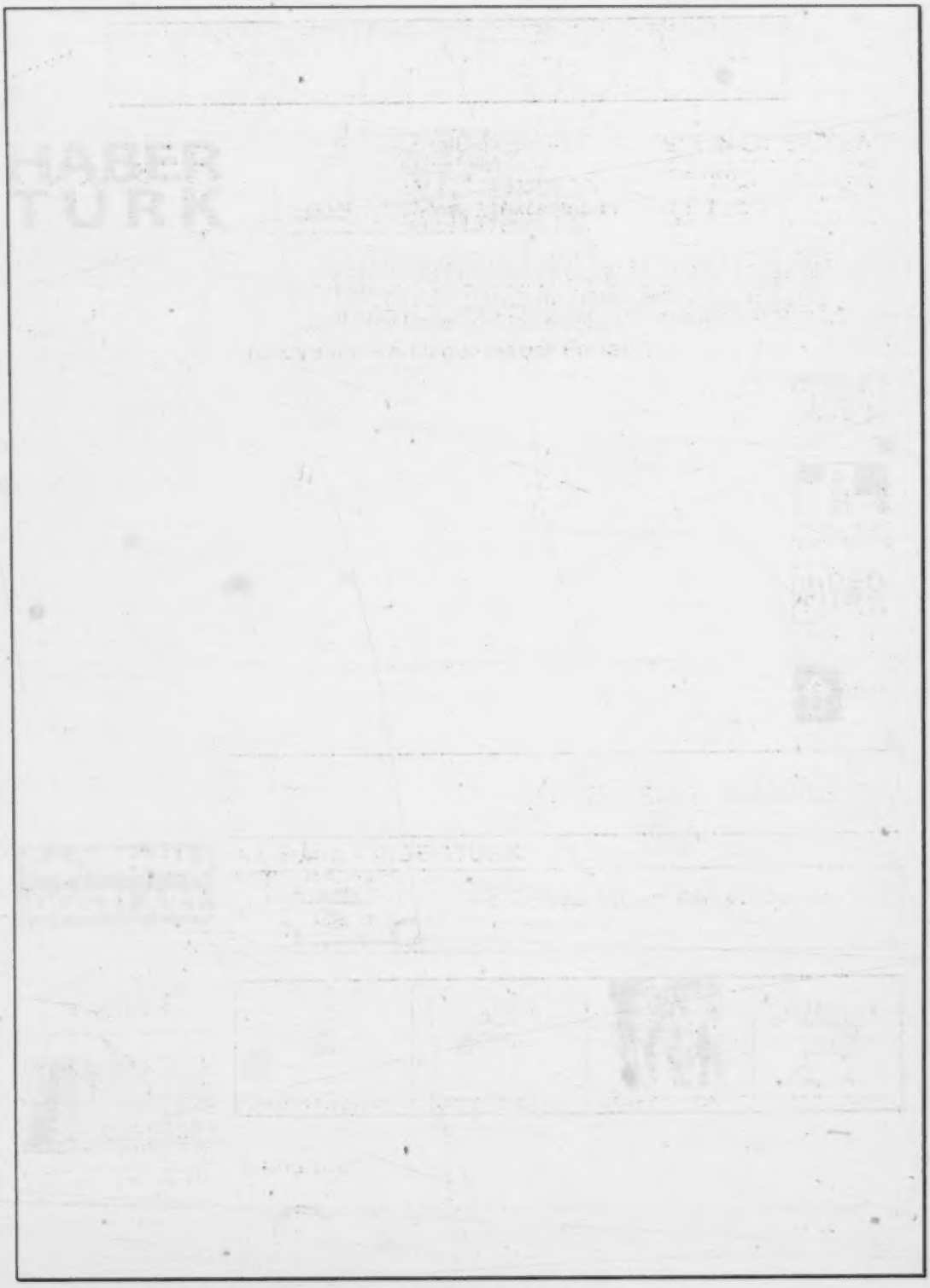


Figure 8: *Haberturk*'s home page, February 27th 2003.

Advertisements

There are many advertisements on the main page, both for *Haberturk*'s other media services as well as for general products or service-related advertisements. The location of advertisements is not the same as the other news outlets', that is to say in various sections of the main page of *Haberturk*, wherever it is suitable, the advertisements are placed abundantly.

Coverage of the Story

In terms of specific coverage of the story, *Haberturk* started its updates on the story at 3:28 am and continued until 18:13 p.m. on the 27th. There were over thirty stories and updates on the bill on the 27th. The coverage included some other newspapers' articles on the issue as well as its own commentary on developments. Many editorials (ten out of fifteen) and commentaries were related to the bill, some opposing and others supporting it. The articles were different on the 26th, 27th and 28th. The site presented some crucial developments such as when the bill was delayed by signaling them with a "last minute" sign, although it was presenting related news stories all day long. As is the case with TV, it tried to capture the audience's attention by saying that "details are coming soon." It was possible to see the entry time for each news story, which made it easy to follow the stories. Its main page changed most frequently among all the media outlets. It had a survey on the 27th about whether the bill would be passed by the parliament or not. A manager of the site said that the editors update the site whenever possible, and this was certainly the case with the coverage of this story. The news site updated the coverage of the event regularly; however, it was dependent on other sources. The site's commentary was more editorial-like than news-like.

Discussion

At this point, it is important to compare each of the four news outlets' general key features. As the editors mentioned in the interviews, the circulation numbers have an effect on the number of hits that their websites receive (See Table 1). They do not have English version of their sites, however, perhaps they should, since the news sites can be the references for foreign audience on a global scale event. As seen in the table, adequate staffing is a problem for a newspaper such as *Evrensel* or *Milli* because of their limited financial resources. Although *Haberturk* is an online news site and it has more reporters than Evrensel and Milli do (since it has also a TV Station and a newspaper) it still goes to other news sources more than the three other news sites do and in doing so this allows it to do up-to-the minute reporting. In terms of online archiving, the newspapers are available for at least the past few years; however, the online news source *Haberturk* does not offer that service at all (see Table 1).

	Circulation	Accessibility for Foreign Online Audience	News Sources	Online Archive	Number of Reporters	Online Since...
Milliyet	300,000	No	News Agencies and its Own Reporters	1996	250	1996
Evrensel	10.000	Not available (German)	News Agencies and its Own Reporters	2001	15	1995
Milli	35.000	No	News Agencies and its Own Reporters	1998	17	1998
Haberturk	N/A	No	Other Media and its News Sources	None	20	2000

Table 1: Some comparisons between the news outlets

Table 2 indicates the update times for the specific story and the total number of stories. Overall, the four news outlets' online editions were shorter, having generally summarized the print versions, except for *Haberturk*, which refers to other news sources for content. *Haberturk* usually compiles its news from other sources and only puts the

name of the source (usually newspapers) at the bottom of the news story. *Milliyet*, however, as a newspaper that does updates pretty quickly, has to verify its information from TV and news agencies before to post it on the Internet. In the online archives of these four news outlets (except for *Haberturk*), it is only possible to see the latest updated version of the newspaper (which is again a case for *Milliyet* in terms of updates since it is the only newspaper that does the updates among the three). One of the particular advantages of Internet journalism is instant coverage, even though two other online outlets have not been doing last-minute journalism. They simply put up the content from their print editions and, most of the time, fail to do updates. The reasons that *Milli* and *Evrensel* are on the Internet are that they want to reach people who cannot buy the newspapers and most of the media outlets have Internet sites, so it seems necessary for them to have one, too.

	Num. of Updated Stories	Time of First Update	Time of Last Update	Number of Main Page Changes
Milliyet	19	9.55	17.21	2
Evrensel	0	27 Feb noon	28 Feb noon	0
Milli	0	27 Feb noon	28 Feb noon	0
Haberturk	32	3.01	18.13	10

Table 2: The story-update chart of the four news outlets.

Internet news sources compile the news from daily newspapers and filter it through their organizations' point of view, as was seen in the coverage of the story although they claim that they are the sources. The practices involved in online journalism would not be viewed as an acceptable way to do journalism in print media. Since *Milli* and *Evrensel* cover stories that one would not see in the mainstream, they still provide the opportunity for readers to see different views on issues even though the sites are not frequently updated.

Table 3 indicates how many interactive elements these four online news outlets have. There are some interesting findings; for example, those that do updates also have surveys based on current issues. The fact that *Evrensel* has a statistics page while others do not is significant given the fact that it is the one least interested one in new technologies. However, it might be important for *Evrensel* to know how many people visit the site since the circulation of the print version is not at a desirable level. Those that have print editions have effective archive systems whereas *Haberturk* does not, which is notable again considering that it is the one that does Internet journalism in a different way. In this case, one might expect that *Haberturk* would have a better archive system. However, perhaps the fact that there is no print version makes an attempt to find a daily edition redundant. None of the outlets has a subscription system yet, which is an indication that this new medium relies on advertising. Those that have a good reputation do not have a problem finding enough advertisements for their Internet sites. It should be also noted that *Milliyet*'s online version is quite different from its print edition unlike other newspapers. Its practices are much closer to the usual forms of Internet journalism than others' practices, including *Haberturk*'s, especially given that *Milliyet* uses its news sources more than *Haberturk* does.

	Milliyet	Evrensel	Milli	Haberturk
Search Engines	no	no	yes	yes
E-mail Addresses of Journalists	yes	yes	yes	yes
Hyper Links	yes	yes	yes	yes
Links Within News Stories	yes	no	no	yes
Chat Rooms	no	no	no	no
Discussion Groups	no	no	no	no
Feedback Mechanisms	no	yes	yes	no
Registration	no	no	no	no
Weather Forecast Search	no	no	yes	yes
Archive	yes	yes	yes	no
Financial Search	no	no	yes	yes
Dictionary	no	no	no	yes
Links to Other Media	no	yes	no	yes
Statistics	no	yes	no	no
News Search	no	no	no	yes
Surveys	yes	no	no	yes

Table 3: Interactive Features of the News Outlets

How the Internet changes people's habits, in particular, their ways of accessing information and so on are some other significant points to be noted. The Internet, however, is dynamic because it requires contribution, effort, and interactivity. Readers have the chance to respond to the news coverage. Since the Internet is a relatively new medium, it may be harder for people to get used to it in terms of its features, such as its interactivity, and reading off a digital screen. As a common feature in the online versions of the outlets, there is a categorization system that separates different sections from each other, a style that does not exist in the print versions since it is expected that the regular audience knows where to go for the type of news stories for which they look.

This analysis has shown that journalism's rules have not changed because of news technologies. News, however, is presented by combining it with other elements of media such as facts and entertainment, which is an indication of stylistic change. Overall, page

layouts are significant in terms of the traditional role of newspapers. Now, they are not just news outlets but settings that bring many other services to people. In fact, this might be counterproductive for readers in terms of receiving a core understanding of events. Online content, as was mentioned in the literature review, might be full of unnecessary elements given the fact that some might want to read news only.

In terms of these news outlets' being alternative sources for a global audience, in a world where people are scattered around even though they speak the same language, the Internet is doing something that has never been the case with other media. Now, it is possible to access every kind of opinion on the Internet, as has been shown in the analysis of the four newspapers. Considering that they all evaluated this very important voting event according to their opinions and interests, the global Turkish audience, even though they do not have the access to print versions of these news outlets, were able to receive information on a core issue regarding their country. Online journalism is serving its intended purpose of informing people about what is going on in the world. This much variety has not been the case with any other medium. The accessibility might be dependent on the language, reputation of the news outlet, and financial capabilities of readers, but this is still a significant change in the way people receive news. This fact does not make Internet journalism revolutionary. Given that it is also possible to watch TV on the Internet, last minute coverage of an event could be also easily followed on TV rather than from the Internet sources. Still, for those who did not want to watch TV and preferred to receive a series of developments at once, at their own pace and from different perspectives, the Internet news sources offered a number of good possibilities.

Conclusion

Internet journalism theories indicate that as a result of the effects of new media technologies, journalism has experienced significant changes and concerns. Online journalism is now a sub-branch of journalism. The changes in the way that news is being presented do not necessarily imply changes in the nature of the profession. This thesis examined the medium, communication as well as Internet journalism theories to set a foundation for the argument that the Internet's effect on journalism has not been revolutionary but might be better described as evolutionary.

In early media theory, there was an emphasis on technology. McLuhan suggested that the fact that the medium is the message. However, there is more to this new medium than technological change. Recent social discourses have now focused on the impact of media on society more than they have on technological aspects. The ideology behind new media has been questioned more than the technologies that created them in contemporary times, and perhaps this is how it should be. This study presented the relevant issues in terms of the Internet's impact on the profession of journalism from a socio-political point of view. This thesis is consistent with the writings of contemporary Marxists, especially McChesney's argument that the Internet has created a very democratic atmosphere, especially for activist opinions. However, the Internet is not going to breakdown the dominance of the capitalist media anytime soon. And the fact is that advertising, ownership of Internet services, and regulation are all dominant factors in determining how much power various voices can have on the Internet (McChesney, 21).

The Internet can provide journalism with new and efficient ways of producing and disseminating the news and it can even affect the way it works, but it does not change the

basic premises of the profession. As Stroehlein points out, regardless of the medium, journalistic work should rest on its core values including story-telling, accurate reporting, and freedom of the press. A common and universal set of journalistic standards does and should exist (Strohlein, URL). Whether journalism is done by hyperlink or through print, the basic task does not become any easier with new technologies and many news sites have to find ways to survive on the Internet (Borden and Harvey, 54). If conflict between journalists and capitalism is evident on the Internet, they only reflect the relations that already exist in traditional media and are not something new.

The Internet is not a miraculous medium that treats everybody equally since it is controlled by hegemonic powers (Strohlein, URL). Mainstream media have used their influence to expand their power into the new media. International news resources that have the power to produce news tend to be organized monopolies that are dominant in manipulating and shaping public opinion. Just as significant as what are reported are the stories that are not reported or are buried (Herman and Chomsky, 87). This situation was not predicted when the Internet first began to make people think about its features. Internet journalism, however, is still an exciting and promising field as long as some ethical issues are considered and hegemonic powers such as governments do not try to restrict the medium to fit their traditional understanding of media. New media brands can still be developed on the Internet, and an independent voice can provide a reliable source by offering quality work and that way, gains people's respect and trust.

To narrow the argument down, this study focused on global discourses from a Turkish perspective. The study analyzed interviews with four editors of news outlets in order to give a better picture on the issue. All the representatives have a positive attitude

towards this new technology even though they are not comfortable with the manner in which the Turkish government regulates Internet technologies. Government intervention on the Internet has been an important aspect of Turkey's Internet journalistic practices given the country's history of strict censorship. The Turkish government thought that it could control this new medium by applying the laws and regulations of traditional media to the Internet; however, the government had to adjust its position, due to public pressure.

Still, Internet journalism practices in Turkey have not been radically different from those around the world. In Turkey, it is difficult to talk only about an independent and self-sufficient online news source. However, those doing only Internet journalism have used the new technologies quite well and given the country's dynamic social construction, in terms of its mosaic-like ethnic, social, cultural, political and economic structure, a great acceleration may occur in the near future in terms of the creation of independent online news sources. In fact as it is, Internet journalism offers a chance for different perspectives and information to be heard globally. Internet journalism, as an alternative democratic source, can be an important voice in a global world where people are scattered and receiving information is a need more than luxury. The question that remains, however, is whether a significant number of people are listening to these voices?

To test the changes that Internet journalism has brought to the profession, this thesis examined four Turkish news outlets' print and online editions with respect to a specific story on a specific date. The content and style analysis of these four outlets provided evidence that Internet journalism as an alternative information source offers a platform for diverse opinions, and it can create a more democratic news atmosphere. By Internet journalism, this study referred to online-based news sites, as well as newspapers

or other media that have online editions. This thesis chose newspapers for examination because they are more accessible than TV or radio in terms of archives on the Internet. The study observed that in using cyberspace as a medium, these sites used particularly technical features such as immediacy, interactivity, and hypertextuality. It also found that these sites rely on technical features more than they do on their journalistic content.

This study has attempted to fill a gap specifically on the issue of Turkish online journalism as an alternative news source, a topic, which has seen little significant debate in the Turkish media or in academia. Whatever the case may be, Internet journalism should be committed to serving ethical and professional codes of the field rather than itself.

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Appendix 1- Consent Form

Interview by Nilay Ertemur

Department of Sociology, University Of Alberta
June 2002

This study is about September the 11th terrorist attacks' news coverage of three websites. It is being conducted as a part of primarily data gathering for my thesis.

For this study, I will interview you to obtain your organization's objectives, activities, and opinions about the Online Journalism and specifically the coverage of September the 11th terrorist attacks. The questions will be about general online journalism issues as well as specifically September the 11th News Coverage of your website. In the interview, I will also ask general questions about alternative and mainstream online media.

I will conduct a face to face interview, which could last 30 to 45 minutes. I will arrange for a time that is convenient for you and schedule an appointment at your office in Istanbul (Turkey).

The findings of the study will be incorporated in my thesis that would be available to the public at the University Of Alberta's library in Edmonton, Canada. The thesis will be made available to you if you so desire.

Please understand that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. All information will be held confidential except when professional codes of ethics or legislation require reporting. If there is any question that you do not wish to answer, you don't have to answer them. You have the option to stop the interview at any time. The completed interviews will be kept until August 2003 (the date I am planning to finish my

thesis) in a secure area accessible by only me and my thesis committee. Then the tapes and notes are going to be destroyed.

If you have any questions about the interview, you may ask before we start or during the interview.

DECLARATION:

I agree that I have read and understand the above information. I agree to participate in the interview about my organization conducted by Nilay Ertemur as part of her thesis preparation. I understand that the information given by me will be used in Miss Ertemur's thesis and will be available to public through University Of Alberta.

_____ (Print Name)

_____ (Signature)

_____ (Date)

Appendix 2- Ethics Review Application Form

May 15, 2002
Professor Kevin Haggerty, Chair
Research Ethics Committee
Department of Sociology

Dear Professor Haggerty,

I am writing this proposal letter to request the review of the Research Ethics Committee for the interviews that I am planning to do in Istanbul (Turkey) for my thesis project.

I am a Humanities Computing first year student. My home department is Sociology. This is an interdisciplinary program. In my thesis project, I will be examining alternative and mainstream media news coverage on the first week of September the 11th terrorist attacks in three different online Turkish News websites. I am planning to have interviews with these three website's editors in order to learn their opinion on the coverage of the terrorist attacks and generally Internet journalism. These interviews are not going to be with more than three editors and they will not be used in any other purpose but primarily data gathering for my thesis and will remain confidential.

I am fully aware of the following aspects of the proposal guidelines of the Department of Sociology Research Ethics Committee regarding my interviews.

1. Assessment of Harm
   I will refrain from negative comments regarding their organization and their activities. Any critical assessment of the organization reported will remain confidential and not shared by any other party. Also, I will pay attention to possible harm done to the interviewee for disclosing confidential information about herself/himself and about the organization based on the Faculty of Arts Guideline "Human Research—University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants.

2. Informed and Voluntary Consent
   I will obtain consent and permission from the organization and authorized person at the beginning of our interview.

3. Anonymity and Confidentiality
   All information gathered by me shall remain anonymous when they involve specific individuals. The reports will remain confidential.

4. Researchers must be knowledgeable, trained, and competent.
   I believe that I have the necessary skills to do these interviews. Given the nature of the interviews, the conversation might not stay on the topic as it has been planned but I have the list of questions enclosed so that the committee could examine the nature of my questions. I'll ask open-ended questions.

It would be very much appreciated if you could examine the above proposal and provide suggestions. Thank you very much.

Appendix 3

The General Analysis Questions of the Four Newspapers

1- How many updates did each news outlet do on the specific story?

2- How often did they update the story?

3- When was the first and last specific story of each outlet? Did they enter the time when updated the story?

4- How often did they change the headlines or the cover page for the story?

5- How many related articles were written by the each outlet's columnists? What were they talking about basically?

6- Were they different from the ones that an outlet had the day before yesterday and the next day?

7- What did they say in the interviews and what did they do?

8- Who are the owners? How long have they been in business?

9- What is the accessibility to foreign audience? Which one is having English content on the Internet?

10- What are their advertisements like? Who are the principle advertisers?

11- What is the basic page design of each one on the Internet?

12- How are their archive systems?

13- What are their news sources? How many reporters does each one have?

14- Do they have surveys, visitor numbers, and such that an online atmosphere allows a news outlet to have?

15- What are the colours, margins, and formats of the print front pages basically?

16- How much difference exists between the online and print version of these media outlets in terms of their main page, stories, etc

Appendix 4

Questions for the Interviews

1- Do you think that the Internet, as a new medium, is different from other media in terms of news coverage? Why and in which ways?

2- What is your opinion on Internet journalism in general, in terms of national and international practices?

3- What are your organization's practices in terms of Internet journalism?

4- What do you think about your being an alternative voice on the Internet located in a global platform? What do you think about the fact that Internet has given the chance to alternative voices to be heard globally?

5- What are the effects (advantages and disadvantages) of Internet journalism on Turkish traditional media?

6- What do you think about the Turkish government's interventions concerning the Internet as well as the rules and regulations that it has been trying to implement for Internet journalism?

7- How did you cover the 9/11 terrorist attacks and how do you cover news as important as 9/11 on the Internet?

8- How do you think that Internet Journalism affects the ways in which traditional journalism is done?

9- What do think about the financial outlook for Internet Journalism?

10- How do you see the future of Internet journalism and your organization?

11- Do you have general principles in doing Internet journalism?

12- What has the Internet changed in terms of general professional ethics?

13- What is your definition of alternative and mainstream news and how do you think the Internet has changed these definitions?